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HISTORY OF CANADA.

BY

WILLIAM KINGSFORD, LL.D., F.R.S. [CANADA].

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VOL. IV.

[1756-1763.]

[WITH MAPS.]

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PREFACE TO THE FOURTH VOLUME.

The present volume brings to a conclusion the history of French rule in Canada. An opinion may prevail in some quarters, that occasionally its detail has been elaborately related, and that undue importance has been given to incidents, which might have been more summarily presented. As I was actuated by the conviction, that it was unwise to pass over any event which had any social or political relation to the early years of the history of Canada, I have striven to embrace within my narrative all that may be said legitimately to belong to it. I do not here refer to the dramatic interest attached more or less to the several incidents, for the feeling thus appealed to must ever be a relative matter, and what may strike one mind as entertaining, may to another appear dry and jejune. I was myself impressed by the thought, that the subject had to be considered from the higher view of the application of the past to our present condition. Any honestly written impartial narrative must throw light on the subject of which it treats; and a proper appreciation of what has taken place from the transfer of Quebec to the French in 1632 by Charles I., to the capitulation of Montreal in 1760, cannot fail to aid in leading to a just consideration of any claim, which may be put forward to-day, whatever its character and by whomsoever it may be advanced.

One essential principle presented itself to my mind in the preparation of this work: that in order to make it plain and intelligible, it was indispensable that the events which took place synchronously in Great Britain, France and the then southern British provinces, should be understood. I have accordingly briefly introduced the narrative of such events, and in doing so I deemed it incumbent upon me, to consider the principal actors who have appeared from time to time in Europe and America, upon the political stage. The four volumes which have appeared may be regarded as an introduction to the history of British rule in Canada, which itself may be divided into three periods. The first period includes the years succeeding the conquest, to 1791, when the Canada act divided the province into Upper and Lower Canada. This act continued in operation for the subsequent half-century, during which the two provinces remained independently constituted with separate legislatures, until the 11th of February, 1841, when they were formed into the one province of Canada. Thus, this portion of our history extends over eighty years. It includes the remarkable events of the quarrel with the revolted British colonies, and the war which led to the independence of the present United States: the war of 1812-14 with that republic; the rebellions in Upper and Lower Canada, and the development of constitutional government in the province.

The first of these events is so closely connected with Canada, that it calls for a special narrative of what took place in connection with the province. Moreover it was the direct cause of the settlement of Upper Canada by a British population; a fact which must be kept in view in the history of Ontario for the following seventy years. It created a dominant feeling in the minds of the first settlers and their children; of those who suffered to sustain the United Empire, "the U. E. loyalists," as their descendants proudly call themselves. These men sacrificed all they had in this world, and left behind them many of the associations which make life dear, to carve out of the woods a hard, toilsome existence, that they might live and die under the British flag; and they were not unhappy, for they acted up to their convictions, and from their sense of duty; and they retained in the greatest trial and privation, the proud feeling of unswerving self-respect.

The second period is constituted in the quarter of a century, during which the province of Canada, embracing the present provinces of Ontario and Quebec existed as a unity until 1867, when confederation of the whole of the British North American provinces took place: at which date the third period commences when British America became known as the Dominion of Canada.

I trust, if circumstances permit, to continue the history of British rule in Canada to the 11th of February, 1841, the date within half a century of the present time, when the union of the two provinces was consummated. Most of the enmities, political and social, of that day, have passed away with the men who figured in them. The task of describing the concluding years is not without difficulty, for some of the younger actors at that date still survive, and retain at least the family and party recollections which were engendered by the struggle. If I succeed in carrying out my purpose, I will endeavour to avoid in any way awakening this ancient feeling of discord. I have no desire to revive old feuds, and I must ever bear in mind that I am "walking upon ashes under which the fire is not extinguished."

I hope it will not be considered that "I protest too much," if I add that I have endeavoured to fulfil the promise made in the early pages of this work, to be fair and honest. So far as I know myself, I have had no theory to advocate, no purpose to attain. I have endeavoured to render a service to the dominion by the completion of a record which it is my hope may prove acceptable in all quarters. This intention at least may be remembered in my epitaph.

I will add that I have neglected no source of information. In addition to the many known authorities, I have consulted the MSS. at my disposal in the parliamentary library, and the copies of the imperial records in the Archives so admirably collected by the ability and untiring industry of Mr. Brymner. I do not know one source of information I have failed to consult. Whatever the defect in my own use of these authorities, I cannot accuse myself of want of industry, or of an absence of earnestness in my labours. In conclusion, I will venture humbly to quote the words of Grote, in the preface to his immortal history of Greece. It is "only within the last . . . years that I have been able to devote to the work that continuous and exclusive labour, without which, though much may be done to illustrate detached points, no entire or complicated subject can ever be set forth in a manner worthy to meet the public eye."

I repeat my deeply felt thanks to those friends, who have so unselfishly and generously aided me in my undertaking.

W. K.

OTTAWA, CANADA,
8th October, 1890.

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BOOK XII.

From the Close of 1756, to the Conquest of Louisbourg: 1758.

THE HISTORY OF CANADA

FROM THE EARLIEST DATE OF FRENCH RULE.

CHAPTER I.

Montcalm returned to Montreal from Oswego, having performed the most brilliant military exploit then known in the history of Canada, while the destruction of the English settlement was equally of the highest political importance. The Anglo-American had been driven from his footing on lake Ontario, for its waters to become in fact, as in name, entirely French; dominated to the east and west by the two forts of Frontenac and Niagara. If there had been incompleteness in Montcalm's success, it had been made more certain by the fears of colonel Webb and the unfortunate demolition of the forts at the carrying-place between the Mohawk and the streams tributary to lake Ontario. This abandonment of territory was an acknowledgment of powerlessness and defeat not to be misrepresented, and its consequence was that the Iroquois faltered in their belief that British protection could hereafter safeguard them.

In accordance with the sentiment that it was expedient to take steps for their own protection, a deputation descended the Saint Lawrence to Montreal. It consisted of forty men, with sixty women and children, of the Onondagas and Cayugas. The Senecas and Oneidas had engaged to follow them, therefore on their arrival a request was made that their reception should be deferred for three days, until the 30th of November.* When they met de Vaudreuil, he assured them of his protection, and ceremoniously introducing Montcalm, he referred to those present who had seen the victorious general at the ruins of Chouaguen. The orator replied, that it was they who had first given to the English news of the capture and of the impossibility of resisting the French. The ambassadors of the Senecas and Oneidas arrived on the 6th of December; at this date the number of the Six Nations, including women and children, amounted to one hundred and eighty, and the reception of the whole body took place in the parlour of the seminary of Saint Sulpice.

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* N.Y. Doc., X., p. 556.

A conference, with the representatives of the tribes beyond Detroit, was likewise being held during this period. Montcalm described the event as remarkable from the number present and the subjects discussed, especially from the conduct of the Iroquois. It appeared to him to be a promise of assured neutrality on their part. There was even the anticipation, that although the tribes as such could not be expected to take an avowed part against the British, there was ground for belief that many of the younger men would actively side with the French.*

A similar course was followed by the New York authorities; but while the Six Nations seemed to recognize the impossibility of entirely changing the old relations with Albany, they were careful in making it understood, that they could no longer be regarded as the allies they had hitherto been. They would give no definite promise of support, and claimed the right to remain neutral. Belief in the power of the British colonies to withstand the attack of the French, had been so violently shaken, that there was no longer sympathy with their cause, or hope of their success. We have only to read the letters of sir William Johnson,† to perceive the depression which the defeat of Braddock, and the "unhappy news of the loss" of Oswego had created in the Indian mind. He sets forth that the possession "of a navigation on lake Ontario was not only a curb to the power of the French that way, but esteemed by the Six Nations whenever they joined our arms as a secure cover to them and their habitations against the resentment of the French," * * * which left them to act in full security." The demolition of the fortress, the seizure of the ships upon the lake, and the humiliating spectacle of the garrison embarked as prisoners for Montreal, had destroyed all sense of reliance in British protection.* There had been also cause of dissatisfaction in the grants of land which had lately been made, and which were bitterly complained of by the Indians, as an infringement of their rights and a seizure of their property. It was the commencement of a system which was persevered in until the revolutionary war; the active interference of the home government to control the alienation of Indian land, so that the tribes should be protected from spoliation, was one of the grievances brought forward by the provincials interested in the traffic, in justification of their dissatisfaction and revolt.

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* Que. Doc., IV., p. 90. Montcalm au Ministre, 24 avril, 1757.

† N. Y. Doc., VII., p. 127. 10th September, 1756. VII., p. 171. 10th Nov., 1756.

Nothing had more discouraged the Indians than Webb's abandonment of the forts at the upper Mohawk. It had been carried out in one of those trying situations in which the great qualities of an undaunted nature are called forth, to face with calm determination, whatever duty may demand: but Webb had only shewn his want of faith in the force at his disposal. The ability of sir William Johnson retained the tribes as far as it was possible in the English interest; but he was made to feel that their zeal was passing away, that they could not be depended upon, and that only those who were liberally paid would march by the side of the British.†

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* "But by our losing Oswego, which I may call the Barrier of the 6 Nations, and thereby the possession of that part of the Country, they were laid open to the Resentments of the French, who might at any time they were inclined to it, with facillity (*sic*) fall upon their Towns, and cut them and their families to pieces, especially those of the upper Nations." Sir William Johnson to Lords of Trade, 10th Sept., 1756. N.Y. Doc., VII., p. 128.

† A meeting of the Onondagas, Oneidas, and Tuscaroras took place at German Flats on the 3rd Sept., 1756. The orator addressed the interpreter present: "We are now met and must now tell you in the name of all the 6 Nations that we are quite surprized to find ourselves deceived in our opinion of the English, we took them to be a more steady People, but we see that this Defeat at Oswego discourages them entirely, and you seem as it were to give up

So unsatisfactory were the relations with the Indians throughout the entire provinces, that Mr. Edmund Atkin, "superintendent of the Indian Department in Virginia, North and South Carolina and in Georgia," arrived in Albany in November to discuss with Johnson "upon what footing and after what manner" trade with them could be carried on.* He found the Six Nations "weakened and depressed." Atkin proposed an alliance in the British interest of all the tribes; he accompanied Johnson to his home at the Mohawk, and remained with him a week. Johnson was unable to obtain an answer to his question what assistance the Mohawks would render in the next campaign. The deputies present desired to delay a reply until a meeting had been held at Onondaga, after the return of the deputation from Montreal. The Six Nations, however, shewed a favourable feeling towards union with the southern tribes, and agreed to the establishment of signs and tokens, by which friends could be distinguished from foes. One result of the meeting was the establishment of perfectly good feeling between Johnson and Atkin.

The result of these deliberations was, that the upper nations, the Senecas, Cayugas and Onondagas declared themselves in favour of neutrality. The Tuscaroras and Oneidas took no part in the discussion; but it was evident they could not be depended upon.† The Mohawks alone remained firm in their attachment to British interest. Thus the immediate consequences of the fall of Oswego were by no means of a character to assuage the depression that it had induced. What increased this feeling was, the pervading sentiment that there was no one in the first rank, capable of acting with judgment and decision; what efforts were made were unwise, and proved the cause of subsequent disaster.

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all hopes. [This was said upon account of Gen^{l}. Webb's destroying all the Forts, abandoning the carrying Place and marching back to the German Flatts."] N.Y. Doc., VII., p. 193.

* N.Y. Doc., VII., p. 209.

† Sir William Johnson to Lords of Trade, 25th June, 1757. N.Y. Doc., VII., p. 227. On the 22nd of November, 1756, Loudoun wrote, "We have at present no Indians, but a handful of Mohawks and a few straggling Indians from different tribes." [Can. Arch., Series A. & W.I., 85.1, p. 6.]

All thought of attacking the French outposts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point had to be abandoned. Those places had indeed become established garrisons, maintained by a large force, and could only be attacked with any hope of success by a numerously constituted and well appointed expedition. As winter approached the French removed the greater part of the force from Ticonderoga. The difficulty of furnishing supplies was great, and for a time their operations were confined to guarding against attack, and in watching the movements of the British at the south of the lake. In these attempts the French Indians shewed great activity, and were constantly prowling in the neighbourhood of the southern fort in the hope of seizing prisoners.

The British shewed the same enterprise in their attempt to penetrate the enemy's designs. The duty was one of danger, and loss was experienced on both sides. In each case the adversary's fort was closely approached, so that an estimate could be formed of any probable hostile movement, and prisoners could be seized and carried away with a view to obtain reliable information.

Prominent in the scouts on the British side was captain Robert Rogers. At the end of the war he published a journal of his operations. His hair-breadth escapes can still be read, and with belief, for his narrative in the most remarkable instances is corroborated by French reports.* Rogers relates that he was brought up in a frontier town of New England, and that his manner of life led to a knowledge of both the British and French frontier settlements. In 1755 he was in command of a company of New Hampshire troops, his duty in the first instance being the escort of provisions. In March, 1756, he received an order to form a company of rangers of sixty men, and in June and July a second company was raised. They were specially equipped, and constantly engaged in the attempt to obtain intelligence. Rogers possessed courage which never quailed in the hour of danger. He cheerfully undertook expeditions, the hardships and risk of which he perfectly knew, as much from a love of adventure as from the consequence of his position. He brought to his duties coolness and soundness of judgment and an unfailing self-reliance which never deserted him. He passed safely through all these perils, suffering only from a wound and an attack of small-pox.

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* "Journals of Major Robert Rogers, containing an account of the several Excursions he made under the Generals who commanded upon the continent of North America during the late war, etc., etc. London, 1765."

If Montcalm looked for recognition of his services from de Vaudreuil, he only experienced disappointment. He did not long remain in Montreal; on the 10th of September he arrived at the camp at Carillon with the regiments of Guienne and Béarn, and 100 men of de la Sarre. On his arrival, he learned that two days previously two young officers had been scalped.* His first step was to send out a strong party of Indians and Canadians; their appearance prevented the occupation of some of the islands by a British detachment. On the 27th of October Montcalm, with the main body of the force, left for Montreal: de Lévis remained until the 15th of November, when he likewise marched off with the rear guard. The stone fort of Carillon was then so far finished that it could receive a garrison of 350 men, and it was considered capable of resisting any force which could be brought against it in winter. The original intention had been that de Lévis should proceed to Quebec, but, owing to the lateness of the season, he remained in Montreal; and de Bourlamaque was placed in command there.

The correspondence of that date shews the unsatisfactory relations between de Vaudreuil and Montcalm. The governor general complained of Montcalm and the French officers generally, on account of their bad treatment of the Canadian troops.† He claimed that the victory at Oswego was wholly due to the gallantry of the latter, and he did not fail to point out that the artillery was entirely Canadian. One cause of his censure was that the French officers objected to carry on *la petite guerre*, and were only willing to enter upon what de Vaudreuil called defensive warfare. He dwelt upon their insolence and exactions; indeed scarcely any report more depreciatory could be made.

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* Two lieutenants of the regiment "de la Reine," de Biville and de Torçac. They had been killed when hunting in contravention of the positive orders of de Lévis. Letter of Montcalm, 26th Sept., 1756. Que. Doc., IV., p. 74.

† 13th October, 1756. De Vaudreuil to de Machault, minister of Marine. Dussieux, p. 279.

On his side, Montcalm complained * that de Lévis and himself in duplicate received orders, which could not be carried out, so that in case of failure the blame could be thrown upon them. De Vaudreuil, however, always made the best representation he was able. In writing to the minister early in the year † although unable to report that he had gained any positive advantage on lake Champlain, he represented that he had kept 1900 men in check; and that the scalps, which had been brought him, established the serious losses suffered by the enemy.

In the middle of January a scouting party of some strength was organized in the British garrison of fort Edward, to feel the country towards Crown Point. Rogers was placed in command, and the force was marched to William Henry. After making the necessary preparations, they descended lake George on the ice, as far as "the narrows." Some of the party being footsore, were sent back; the number then remaining, including officers, was seventy-four, among whom were two volunteer officers from the 44th regiment. On the 18th they marched twelve miles; on the following day they descended the lake three miles further, and turning to the shore, followed a north-west course to avoid Ticonderoga; finally they came within three miles of lake Champlain, midway between Crown Point and Ticonderoga. On the 21st they reached lake Champlain, where they saw a sleigh on the ice proceeding towards Ticonderoga. Rogers detached his lieutenant, Stark, to cross a point extending from the shore to reach the ice, and stop it. No sooner had Stark left when Rogers saw that three sleighs were following. It was too late to countermand the order, so the attempt was made to take possession of the whole number. The first sleigh, however, escaped to Ticonderoga, to carry news of the presence of the British scouts, north of the French garrison. From the prisoners Rogers learned that the fort at Carillon contained 350 regular troops, and that they had lately been reinforced by 200 Canadians and several Indians, destined to be engaged in harassing the English garrison, and that more Indians were expected.

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* Que. Doc., IV., p. 79.

† 13th January, 1757. Que. Doc., IV., p. 82.

Rogers felt the danger of his situation : it was plain to him that he must expect an immediate attack by a large force, and his only safety lay in a retreat before he could be intercepted; in reaching ground where there was no chance of being assailed. He went back to his camp, where the men dried their arms, which were wet, and started on their way homeward. They had scarcely marched half a mile, and were crossing a valley of fifteen rods breadth, when at close range they received a volley from a large force in ambush, which proved most telling. Kennedy, one of the officers, and one of the volunteers, were killed; several of the party were wounded, some placed *hors de combat.* The discharge was returned. Rogers' men retreated to the elevation which they were descending, and here they formed and fought desperately. The force by which they were surrounded amounted, according to Rogers' estimate, to two hundred and fifty men, and had the few rangers been charged by the bayonet not one could have escaped.

There is no reason to think that Rogers over estimated the number. De Lusignan was then in command at Ticonderoga; on hearing the news he immediately detached one hundred men of his force, with "some Indians and Canadians." They were placed under the command of captains de Basserade and de Lagrandville.* De Basserade was dangerously wounded early in the fight. The contest lasted for several hours, until nightfall, when the French withdrew, carrying with them their wounded. The English effected their retreat to lake George. Of the 74 who went into action only 54 gained the lake, of this number 48 only were effective. Six were wounded, 14 were left dead on the field, including two of the officers, Kennedy and Spekeman, and the two volunteers from the 44th, Baker and Gardner. Six were taken prisoners.

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* "Il detacha 100 hommes . . avec quelques Sauvages et Canadiens. Montcalm, 24th April, 1757. Que. Doc., IV., p. 91.

They were perfectly exhausted on reaching lake George. Stark, a lieutenant, afterwards known in the revolutionary war, started in advance to fort William Henry, so that sleighs might be sent forward for the wounded men. Finally the whole retreating party reached the fort in safety. It is astonishing that the French from Carillon did not follow them. There may have been some attempt of the kind, but it is not recorded.

Montcalm, in reporting the affair, does not conceal the strength of Rogers' force ; he places it at seventy-seven ; the correct number being seventy-four. He describes the survivors, however, as all perishing from cold, except three who reached William Henry. The losses of the French he sets forth as nine killed and eighteen wounded, of whom some died from their wounds.*

There have been few skirmishes, fought under such odds, where more determined gallantry was shewn, and in which the danger was escaped by courage and determination. On all sides Rogers was highly praised. Abercrombie's nephew James, aide-de-camp to his uncle, specially wrote him to say how all were pleased with the conduct of himself and his men, and, while regretting the losses which had been experienced, pithily adds that it is "impossible to play at bowls without meeting with rubs." †

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* The account of the affair, N. Y. Doc., X., p. 570, gives the French dead at eleven, the wounded at twenty-seven.

† There is a passage in Rogers' journal which shows how constantly the spirit of red-tape has prevailed, to aid the indifference felt towards the honest claims for service performed, which threaten to be troublesome to the official heads at head-quarters. After the affair of the 21st of January, when Rogers had received great thanks for his services, and the companies of rangers had been increased, Rogers says: "I again wrote to his lordship [lord Loudoun] earnestly soliciting his friendly interposition and assistance to obtain from the government here an order for payment of what was due to me and my men for our respective services during the winter of 1755; but if that could not be obtained, that he would be pleased to

Whether from the desire of achieving a success, which in the public mind would be a counterpoise to the triumph of Montcalm, or whether de Vaudreuil desired to shew his faith in *la petite guerre*, which the French generals would not entertain, an expedition was organized against fort William Henry in the depth of winter, the season being one of unusual severity. It was placed under the command of Rigaud de Vaudreuil, governor of Three Rivers, the governor general's brother, so that any honour which might be gained should appertain to the Canadian branch of the army, in contradistinction to the regular troops of France. When the project became known, Montcalm offered to take command, asking for 800 men.* De Lévis and de Bourlamaque also volunteered to lead it. De Lévis in writing to France expressed his belief that he could not have done better, and that the expedition had all the success that could be expected.†

Unusual care was bestowed on the organization of the column. It consisted of 1400 men, composed of 50 grenadiers, and 200 volunteers from the regular troops, under the command of M. de Poulharies; with 250 colonial troops; 600 Canadians and 300 Indians. The second in command was M. de Longueuil.‡

The object in view was, if possible, to surprise and escalade the fort. In the event of such an attempt not being feasible, the vessels and *bateaux* constructed for the carriage of troops and men to attack Ticonderoga were to be burned. The expedition left Montreal in four divisions; the first marching out on the 20th, the last on the 25th of February. In the closing

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direct me what method to take for the recovery thereof. Whereto his lordship replied, that as their services were antecedent to his command here, it was not in his power to reward them. General Amherst, on a like application, gave me much the same answer." The consequence was that Rogers was engaged in law suits, and had to pay £828 3s. 3d., for which he never received one penny. p 51.

* Que. Doc., IV., p. 92.

† N.Y. Doc., X., p. 547.

‡ These figures are taken from a letter of Montcalm to the minister, 24th April, 1757. Que. Doc., IV., p. 91. A writer, N.Y. Doc., X., p. 544, mentions the number at 1500.

months of autumn Montcalm had caused the construction of a road from Laprairie to Saint John's, 14 miles; the Richelieu accordingly was easily reached. The ascent of lake Champlain was made to fort Carillon, a distance of 130 miles, the march having been made on snowshoes. The season was one of such severity as to cause mention in letters of the period of the intense cold. The advance must have been leisurely made, for it was not until the 15th of March that the column left Carillon, to arrive within a league and a half of fort William Henry on the 17th instant.

The French account states captain de Poulharies was detached to observe the position of the fort, and that it was evident to him that there was no probability of a surprise: he formed the opinion that the march of the French column had become known.

The garrison was under the command of major Eyre, who had relieved Winslow on the 11th of November, when the provincial forces returned to their homes. It consisted of the 44th regiment and some rangers.* Eyre may be remembered as having efficiently directed the artillery at Dieskau's attack, and had personally pointed the gun which did such execution against the advance of the French regulars. The preceding year he had been promoted to the majority of the 44th, and it was he who had constructed the fort. He had 274 regulars and 72 rangers fit for duty; 128 men, mostly suffering from scurvy, were on the sick list. The total number in the fort was therefore 474; the defence falling on the 346 men who were effective.

The first alarm was given to the garrison on Saturday, the 19th, about one in the morning, by the noise of axes, which appeared to be about three miles from the fort; at the same time a light was seen on the east side of the lake, extending some way down. Precautions were taken against any attempt at a surprise ; about two hours later the march of the troops approaching upon the ice was heard. It was a body of men under captain Dumas, sent forward to reconnoitre, and to avail itself of any opportunity which offered for attack. From the fire directed against it, both from artillery and small arms, the detachment was forced to retire. An unsuccessful attempt was made to set fire to some of the *bateaux*. At break of day the French withdrew. Eyre sent out scouts to obtain information, they picked up some scaling ladders and faggots prepared for burning the vessels. If there had been an intention to storm the fort no attempt was made to carry it out.

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* We have a full narrative of the defence in the despatches of major Eyre to lord Loudoun [A. & W. I.: America and West Indies, vol. 85, part I., pp. 215-239] in the Canadian archives. These volumes are transcripts from the imperial colonial documents. I follow the dates given by major Eyre, his account being written a few days after the attack on the 26th of March.

De Rigaud in his report tells us that on the 19th he invested the fort, and sent a party of Indians on the road to fort Edward to cut off the communication, so that no relief could be sent. On the following day, Sunday, the 20th, Le Mercier, the chief of the Canadian artillery, was sent to summon the fort. Accompanied by a small party waving a red flag he advanced on the ice. He was met by an officer and led blindfolded into the fort. Le Mercier's demand was that a peaceful surrender should be made. The terms he offered were that the troops should march out with the honours of war, the officers being permitted to carry off their most valuable effects.* The refusal of these terms, he added, might be attended with "circumstances very fatal and calamitous to the garrison," should "the assault they were preparing to put in execution" succeed. . . . Considering what sort of people composed part of their army . . . however much they might be inclined to levity and compassion, the cruelties of the savage could not be altogether prevented."

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* The words of Le Mercier deserve attention in relation to what took place after the capitulation of this fort to Montcalm in August. Eyre reports the suggestion of Le Mercier "that some things might only be left by the officers to please and gratify the Indians, and that they (the garrison) need not be under any apprehensions of Mischief from the Savages, for that they had a sufficient number of regulars to protect the garrison against any sort of violence that might be offered to them, and they should be conducted to any place they desired" [Can. Arch., A. & W.I., 85.1, p. 216] These remarks, in my humble judgment, also throw light on the murders reported to have been committed by the Indians after the capitulation of Oswego.

Neither the offer of favourable terms of surrender, nor the threat of unflinchingly abandoning the garrison to the merciless cruelty of the Indian weighed with the true and good soldier who was in command. Eyre's reply was his determination to defend his post. The fort had no great strength, as was proved in Montcalm's attack, and there were less than 350 defenders; but for the threat to be carried out, even with the preponderating numbers of the attacking force, it was necessary that the attempt should be made by a resolute body of men. Its strength, however, was such that if the storming parties had been gallantly led, and proper determination shewn, the assault, with some loss, must have proved overpowering. From the weakness of the garrison the sorties were unimportant, and they were principally made with the view of the protection of property. Le Mercier's demand suggested the possibility of an assault in all directions, and it kept the garrison on the alert. The appearance of the enemy was looked for by night, and at the period the darkness was so great that nothing could be seen; consequently wherever the least noise was heard, shells and the fire of small arms were directed towards it.

On the night of the 20th the French force advanced. It may have been only a feint, but if the attack was seriously designed, they were received so warmly that it was abandoned; the expedition ended in setting fire to two store houses containing large supplies of provisions, to the "provincial" store and all the rangers' huts. On the 21st snow began to fall somewhat thickly; a thaw succeeded, so the hulls of the vessels became moist from melted snow, and little was attempted on the part of the French. On the night of the 23rd they were more fortunate. While the defenders were expecting at all points to be assailed, and were directing their unceasing watchfulness to the protection of the fort, the French scouts stealthily advanced, and placed dry faggots against the hulls of the vessels. They were soon seen to burst into flames. It was not possible to make any attempt to save them. The conflagration included an old building which served as an hospital, and a wooden structure in the neighbourhood of the fort, by the flames of which the fort itself was threatened. But in face of the enemy's fire the roofs were cut away, so the danger was removed. The fire burned the whole night. A sharp fusillade was kept up from the defenders to impede the operations, but with little effect.

The French account records the destruction of four brigantines, one constructed to carry six guns; two long boats of fifty oars, three hundred and fifty transport *bateaux*, much building timber, and a large supply of firewood. The report of Eyre states that the whale boats and scows escaped.

As the fort could not be escaladed, and all the damage had been done which was possible, moreover, according to two prisoners who were taken, their provisions being almost consumed, and their stock of powder exhausted, the French force retreated. On the following morning the long line of their march was seen descending the lake.

Eyre's gallant defence has not received the consideration to which it is entitled. It is in all respects noteworthy, and stands out in strong contrast to the weakness and irresolution shown at Oswego, where, after Mercer's death, not a show of resistance was made. There are few more gallant acts to record than this defence by a handful of men against a force nearly five-fold its number, supplied with every requisite to storm the fort, which only possessed imperfect defence. The threatened assault continued from the night of the 19th to the night of the 24th of March. It is plain that only the resolute attitude of Eyre deterred de Rigaud from an attempt to storm the place. The besieged had only seven wounded, but those six days of gloomy expectation must have taxed the strength and the endurance of the small garrison, and the defenders must have gladly seen the retreating ranks of the French in the distance.

It may be safely said that this successful resistance encouraged an exaggerated idea of the strength of the place. It was but a few months later that Montcalm destroyed this illusion.

The failure of de Rigaud must have suggested to him that the fort could only be taken by cannon; that it had to be beaten down and made untenable: a fact which ought to have been appreciated on the British side and should have been provided against.

Owing to the number of sick who were suffering from scurvy, it was resolved to relieve the garrison. On the 29th of March following, Eyre with his gallant band marched out,* and colonel Monroe, with five companies of the 35th, occupied the fort. When spring came it was discovered that some bodies of the French had been thrust into a hole in the ice: one corpse was found stuffed into a pile of cord wood; likewise the body of an Indian was exposed: it was covered with snow and, strange to say, had been scalped by the French force.

Although the expedition in reality proved little more than a *reconnaissance* in force, one advantage was gained: the precise situation and character of fort William Henry became known, and its capacity for defence estimated. The destruction of the sloops and *bateaux* was also of some account as it would delay the operations of the British provinces in early spring. Owing to the want of provisions no aggressive movement could be made from Canada until the arrival of the ships from France. In any circumstance, owing to the difference in climate, an expedition from Albany could take the field three weeks earlier than any departure from Montreal. Thus the destruction of the vessels enabled the *habitants* to return to their farms and put their crops in the ground.† Montcalm, however, did not accept this view, for while admitting that no expedition could start from Canada until June, and that the delay had been caused to the English by the burning of the vessels, he considered that it would prove "not so much as M. de Vaudreuil thinks." *

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* We first hear of Eyre as chief engineer and quarter-master general in New York in March, 1750 [N. Y. Doc., VI., p. 553]. As has been related, he was quarter-master general at Dieskau's attack [Ib., VI., p. 1000.] In 1756 he built a fort at Oswego falls [VII., p. 184]. He was wounded in Abercrombie's attack of Ticonderoga on the 8th of July, 1758 [X., p. 729]. He subsequently became colonel of the 55th. As colonel of the 44th he formed part of Amherst's force in 1759 on Lake Champlain; and in 1760 he accompanied the force which descended from Oswego to the attack of Montreal. In 1764 he was unfortunately drowned on his voyage to Ireland. [Knox.] Vol. II., p. 406.

† In Montcalm's letter to the minister, of the 24th of April, [N.Y. doc. X., p. 549] he relates that men of the detachment returned snow blind. He writes [as translated] "Canadians, Indians, and our men, to the number of fourteen score, had

During the winter in Montreal, Montcalm felt himself called upon to intervene in a direction which has caused many a commanding officer anxiety, and will doubtless continue to be a source of trouble so long as garrisons exist: the inclination of many young officers to enter into imprudent marriages. In his letter to the minister † he represents this tendency to form "bad marriages . . which were not any more advantageous for the political interest of the colony than to the King." He continues: "M. de Vaudreuil appeared to me to favour them; he is encompassed by relatives of mean extraction." Montcalm wrote a memoir on the subject, which he gave to de Vaudreuil, "who appeared to coincide with these views." Two marriages were only allowed by Montcalm; one that of a captain of the regiment of Languedoc, whose father approved of the match; the second that of a captain of the same regiment, the objection apparently disappearing before the circumstance of "the bride being a girl of respectability, very well connected in the colony, having a handsome fortune." ‡

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to be led by their comrades, but at the end of twice twenty-four hours, sight is restored with simple remedies." The letter also appears Que. Doc., pp. 89-93. There are serious discrepancies between the two published letters, although claiming to represent the same document.

* N.Y. Doc., X., p. 552.

† 24th April, 1757. N.Y. Doc., X., p. 550.

‡ It is worthy of attention that about the same period [31st December, 1754, Wright, p. 285] Wolfe was expressing the same opinion. Writing home, he says: "I always encourage our young people to frequent balls and assemblies. It softens their manners and makes them civil; and commonly I go along with them to see how they conduct themselves. I am only afraid they shall fall in love and marry. Whenever I perceive the symptoms, or any body else makes the discovery, we fall upon the delinquent without mercy till he grows out of conceit with his new passion. By this method we have broke through many an amorous alliance, and dissolved many ties of *eternal* love and affection. . . Two or three of the most simple and insensible in other respects have triumphed over my endeavours, but are seated upon the stool of repentance for the rest of their days."

If Montcalm saw objections in the marriages of officers, he felt that he could do nothing better for the interest of the colony and the kingdom than to encourage the soldiers in obtaining wives. The consequence was that, while in 1755-6 there were only seven such marriages, in 1756-7 there were eighty. He recommended that a gratuity should be given to soldiers willing to remain and settle in Canada, on the ground that they would make excellent colonists, and could easily be brought in the field during the period of war, whereas on their return to France the diminution of pay, with the increase of discipline, would be insupportable.*

One cause of anxiety with Montcalm was the love of play, which was affecting officers of all ranks. Seeing its mischievous tendency, he proposed to de Vaudreuil to prohibit games of chance; on the principle enforced by the rules of a modern, well conducted club. We learn from Montcalm that there was no play either at Montreal or Quebec until de Vaudreuil went to Quebec. Montcalm brought the matter directly to the notice of d'Argenson. "M. Bigot loves to gamble," he wrote. "M. de Vaudreuil thought proper to permit a bank at M. Bigot's. I said what I considered my duty, but did not wish to forbid our officers playing at it; 'twas displeasing to M. de Vaudreuil and M. Bigot; the good of the service requires the contrary. Captain de Maron, of La Reine, has lost twelve thousand *livres*, which have been paid, his lieutenant-colonel having lent them to him. This partiality in favor of M. Bigot's house would have caused gambling elsewhere had I not placed the second captain of one of our battalions under arrest. I write to M. de Machault on the subject of marriages; it concerns the colony. I do not write anything to him concerning gambling; it would only serve to destroy the friendship between M. de Vaudreuil, M. Bigot and me. But I owe my minister an account of my conduct.†

Provisions continued scarce and dear. Officers of small means found it difficult to live on their allowance.‡ From the inability to obtain the necessary supplies four hundred men only could be sent to fort Duquesne on the Ohio, although the necessity of reinforcing the garrison was well understood, in view of what was heard of the operations designed against it. There had been little attempt on the part of the British to replace the vessels and *bateaux* destroyed at fort William Henry, accordingly not only all fear of an expedition against Ticonderoga and Crown Point had passed away, but aggressive operations were determined upon. In June de Vaudreuil was able to report that at fort William Henry there were only three hundred men, many of whom were sick, and that at fort Edward, on the Hudson, the garrison was of the same strength as in winter, with three additional companies of regulars and thirty-six militia. It was plain that no operation was designed against lake Champlain and that the English forts possessed but indifferent means of defence. It was known that the main body of regulars and militia had been transferred to New York to join an expedition against Louisbourg. All the force that remained to protect the frontier was 800 regulars and 2,000 militia. The forts, as it were, invited attack, the garrisons being weak in number and the forts incapable of resistance.

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* N.Y. Doc., X., p. 551. † Ib., p. 551.

‡ M. le marquis de Montcalm aura l'honneur de vous faire des représentations

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sur la situation où se trouvent réduits les subalterns des troupes de terre. Comme tout est au moins trois fois plus cher que quand elles sont arrivées dans la colonie, il n'est pas possible que les lieutenants puissent vivre avec leur paye, si vous n'avez la bonté d'y avoir égard en les faisant augmenter, ou en leur faisant donner le vin et autres douceurs qu'ils ont eu les premières campagnes.

Permettez-moi d'avoir l'honneur de vous faire les mêmes représentations pour moi. La place que j'occupe m'oblige de tenir un état honnête pour m'attirer la considération que je dois avoir. Je n'ai cependant pas à me reprocher d'avoir fait aucune dépense mal à propos et je croirois même avoir mal servi le Roi, si je n'avois pas reçu avec la décence que j'ai observée.

Ce qui n'a pas empêché que je n'aie usé d'une grande économie. Je me trouve cependant cette année en arrière de dix mille livres des appointements que le Roi me donne ; cela ne peut qu'augmenter, puis qu'il ne me reste plus rien des provisions que j'avois apportées de France.

Je vois supplie d'avoir la bonté d'observer que je n'ai pour fortune que les bienfaits du Roi, que je dépenserai avec plaisir à son service ; et tout ce que je désire, du côte de l'argent, est de ne rien devoir en partant de ce pays ; il seroit bien douloureux pour moi de laisser plus de dettes que je ne serai en état de payer.

M. de Lévis à M. de Paulmy, 10th Oct., 1757. Lettres, pp. 177-178.

It was information too important to be neglected, and in a month preparations were made to profit by it, which were to be crowned with complete success.

In a previous volume [III., p. 569] I mentioned the difficulty of weighing the evidence with regard to the massacres asserted to have been committed by the Indians on the taking of Oswego. Subsequent investigation establishes that they did take place, and were unrepressed by de Rigaud and a portion of the French force. With the Canadian troops the proceeding was only in accord with the policy which had been followed for a century: the destruction of every inhabitant on disputed territory, or permission granted to the Indians to carry away prisoners to serve as slaves until redeemed. To the majority of the French officers the proceeding was in every way repellent. Nevertheless, it was enforced by the governor-general de Vaudreuil. Before his day it had become a recognized principle in carrying on war, to use Le Mercier's expression to Eyre, that the Indians should be "gratified." They formed so important an adjunct to any French expeditionary force, that it was important to conciliate them to the fullest extent.

The officer named de la Tour, reported as being murdered in the hospital, belonged to the artillery, and by a cannon shot had lost his legs [Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 83.7, p. 225]. The fact is mentioned in "a statement of six deserters, etc." 21st August, 1756. It is proper to state that on the 3rd of October Loudoun wrote to Henry Fox [Ib., pp. 246-273] that he did not give credence to any massacres at Oswego; but this opinion he subsequently changed. One Beuzil, then a prisoner at Quebec, writing to governor Morris of Pennsylvania, also records the death of 'one lieutenant of the artilerie.' He adds: "The whole number of the garrison killed very inconsiderable, not exceeding fourteen Sergeants and Privates. Some were since murdered by the Indians and their own drunken misconduct."] Ib., 83.2, p. 514. Lieut.-colonel Littlehales also wrote to Loudoun [Ib., 83.2, p. 518]: "After the capitulation, some of them having got in liquor fell into wrangling with the Indians, and several of them were killed; the number was uncertain." These letters were written by prisoners hoping to be exchanged, and in order to be forwarded had to be read by the French authorities.

In a letter from Loudoun to Holderness, commenced at sea on the 18th of August, and finished at New York on the 17th of October, the news having been brought by a despatch boat of the taking of William Henry, Loudoun speaks of the massacres by the Indians, as 'The inhuman and villainous breach of the Capitulation." He then proceeds to speak of the taking of Oswego as being followed by the murder of several of the soldiers in the fort, and the whole of the sick in the hospital. [Ib., 85.2, p. 358.]

The fact is officially substantiated that in the face of a large French force after the capitutation of Oswego these Indian massacres took place.

CHAPTER II.

Lord Loudoun arrived in New York in July, 1756. He remained in America until March, 1758.* Franklin has stated in his autobiography † that Loudoun was recalled owing to the fact that Pitt never heard from him and could not learn what he was doing. Such was by no means the cause why Loudoun was ordered to return to England: there has seldom been so voluminous a writer of dispatches or a more patient and careful correspondent ‡ with a minister. The fault of Loudoun's character was, that he was deficient in resources, and that he looked upon as insuperable the difficulties which could have been overcome by boldness, tact, and judgment. His letters shew that by nature he was desponding, and that he was impressed by the gloomy side of any event, foreboding failure where a more sanguine temperament would have looked for success. He was without the elastic moral courage which rebounds from "fortune's blows" with renewed strength, and in no way possessed the statesmanship which discovers the means to an end. Consequently he failed to form a just opinion of the condition of the British provinces, and his whole career was one of failure. He was conscientious in the performance of his duties, was painstaking and industrious. There is no accusation against him of corruption. Being surrounded by advisers of the same mental calibre as himself, the defects of his character had full sway.

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* Ante vol. III., p. 558. He arrived on the 23rd. Webb and Abercrombie had preceded him on the 7th of June. [Can. Arch., vol. 83.1, p. 11, A. & W. I.]

† [Vol. I., p. 219, Ed. 1844.] "When in England I understood that Mr. Pitt, afterwards lord Chatham, gave it as one reason for removing the general, and sending generals Amherst and Wolfe, *that the minister never heard of him, and could not know what he was doing*" *(sic)*. This statement is another proof of the unreliability of Franklin's narrative. In this case he is doubly incorrect, for Loudoun was replaced by Abercrombie, and not by Amherst. In his complaint of his detention at New York when about sailing for England, he also misrepresents the cause when attributing it to Loudoun's irresolution. There was a general embargo on all vessels [London Magazine, 1757, p. 256] so that intelligence of the proposed expedition should not be carried to the enemy. No one could have chafed more from the want of news of Holbourne's fleet than Loudoun himself. It was the want of knowledge concerning the naval force, with which he had to co-operate, which paralyzed him. The fact at the time Franklin, from his political position, must have known. It is charitable to suppose that Franklin's memory failed him when writing at the age of eighty-one. The embargo was removed on the departure of Loudoun.

‡ The letters of Loudoun are to be found in volumes Can. Arch., 82-86, A. & W. I., seven in number; some of the years consisting of two parts.

An event happened as Loudoun was leaving England which to this day remains unexplained. It was not publicly made known, consequently no allusion is found to it, even by modern writers. At the time it caused serious anxiety in London, and active efforts were quietly made to discover the writer. Early in March, 1756, some letters received by vessels which had sailed from New York, for some cause attracted the attention of the authorities, and they were opened. They were found to contain communications addressed to the duc de Mirepoix, signed "Filius Galicæ," with a request that the answer was to be left at a coffee-house in New York, directed to "Mr. Pierre Fidel until asked for." The writer stated that he was French by birth, and secretly a Roman catholic; he offered his services to aid in enlisting men to join the French, among the Germans and the Irish catholics in Pennsylvania. He speaks of himself as occupying a high position, and makes allusion to his aide-de-camp, as if a general officer. In the first letters he affirms that three officers were acting with him, subsequently that ten had accepted his views. With great professions of devotion to the interests of the king of France, he asked that money should be sent him to carry out his plans. A small sum was by no means embraced, for he undertook to assure to the French the territory west of Virginia and Pennsylvania, asserting that he was in a position of trust and importance, and had the power to fulfil his engagements. He wrote* that he had levied 10,000 men, nominally for the service of the British, on whom he could depend ; that at his bidding they would all take the other side ; he trusted to raise the number to 15,000. "I am not now," he continues, "under the least concern in case any of my letters to yr. gr. [your grace] should be inspected that it could be a prejudice to me, for I am from my behaviour among ye English here, in that Vogue among them that I should not in ye Least be suspected . . . I could deny them." He dwelt upon the fact that the Irish Roman catholics were dissatisfied; and many of the Germans of the Roman catholic faith would by preference serve the king of France; as for the heretics he lived among, they minded no other religion than that of getting money, and they were indifferent as to the government they lived under if they could retain their property.

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* This correspondence is contained in Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., vol. 81, marked "Secret and Miscellaneous." The letter alluded to is dated the 1st of March, 1756, and is to be found on pp. 48-53.

What was of importance was the correct and even able narrative given of public affairs ; it was plain that it could only have been written by one well informed, and a keen observer. Some steps taken by Shirley which had not been reported in England were described ; on inquiry the statement was found to be correct. Two of the letters were enclosed to a Mr. Gamble, of Londonderry, by one signing himself "James Allen," asking that they might be forwarded to France ; an ordinary reason for writing them being assigned. Gamble's suspicions must have been awakened for he opened the first letter, and through his brother in Dublin, sent it to the duke of Devonshire, then lord-lieutenant, and by the latter it was submitted to lord Halifax.

Although the writer represented that he was of French descent, there was no trace of any French idiom in his language, and from some peculiarity of expression the belief was entertained that he was an Irishman. Even if the object was alone to obtain money, and the power of fulfilling his disloyal promises was limited, the offer of his service as a spy and a partizan still remained, and the presence of a person possessing ability exercising this infamous calling, in a position where information could be obtained and where no suspicion was felt, was fraught with danger. Inquiry must early have established that the account given by the writer of his position and influence was not only exaggerated but unwarrantable. There was no such person as he claimed to be. On the other hand he had misrepresented the sentiments of the population, which for his own purpose he described as disloyal. As the letters are read at this date it is not difficult to conclude that they were written to obtain money for the writer's benefit: a systematic fraud. At the time this opinion could not be so easily formed. It was plain that no one could have communicated the information, startling from its correctness, without holding some prominent office. One curious circumstance is that no attempt was made to send the letters through Canada. It suggests that the writer knew no one he could trust, and that he felt the danger of so acting. His cunning enabled him to defy detection. In spite of the caution with which the inquiry was made, no proof was obtained to establish his identity. No person of the name of "James Allen" was known in Philadelphia: but strong suspicions were entertained as to the authorship. Fox wrote to the duke of Devonshire. "One captain George Croghan, an intriguing, disaffected person and Indian trader was very much suspected."* Thus the matter ended. In 1756 Croghan was employed by the province of Pennsylvania in raising men for the protection of the western frontier. In July he threw up his commission; the reason has been given that he was dissatisfied with the treatment he received. It is not improbable that the suspicions entertained with regard to him were in some way made apparent. For several months the intercepted communication caused perplexity in London, and to the officers charged in investigating their character. Loudoun, Webb and sir Charles Hardy received instructions on the subject; and however cautiously their inquiries were made it is probable that they could not be kept entirely secret. It must, however, have been soon apparent that no such disaffection existed, as described, and that the writer, except in his individual character, was powerless for evil.*

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* Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., 81, p. 54.

Loudoun early formed the conviction that it was not possible to resist the sudden inroads into British territory of Canadian and Indian parties. In his view the true policy was to assail Quebec with an irresistible force, as its loss would paralyze the whole province. It was the course recommended in his despatches, and it obtained support in London. In consequence the troops were kept in readiness to be moved to New York for embarkation on the arrival of the fleet. The garrisons of forts Edward and William Henry were reduced in strength, and there were no reinforcements in the field available to sustain them. The fort at lake George was therefore at the mercy of a powerful expedition from Ticonderoga, and the extent to which the frontier had been left was only too well known in Montreal.†

Loudoun had succeeded Shirley in command, and in his reports to the home government he cast the blame of the bad condition of the province on his predecessor. Shirley is one of those characters, concerning which there has been difference of opinion ; but the fact is incontrovertible that he undertook executive duties for which he was unfit, and disorder was the consequence of his leadership. The success of the expedition against Louisbourg has obtained for him great consideration ; but in the narrative of that event the prominent part taken by the British navy is generally put out of view, and success always covers many faults. Fortunately on that occasion,

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* Croghan, on arriving from Ireland, settled on the Susquehanna, and eventually became an Indian trader in the neighborhood of the western part of lake Erie. I have alluded to his presence in the Ohio, at the period of de Céloron's expedition. [Vol. III., p. 447.] On leaving the service of Pennsylvania he joined sir William Johnson on the Mohawk, and worked under his orders. Eventually he was appointed by Johnson deputy agent in charge of the Ohio and Pennsylvania Indians. Croghan lived until 1782. In the revolutionary war he seems, in the first instance, to have adhered to the royalist cause ; subsequently he appears as a supporter of the revolutionary party.

† The French minister as early as the 28th of February notified de Vaudreuil of the proposed attack against Louisbourg. The letter was acknowledged from Canada on the 12th of July. N.Y. Doc., X., p. 584.

Shirley had the co-operation of a man of judgment and sense, admiral Warren. The honours he gained, unhappily for himself, led him to accept obligations which he imperfectly comprehended, and therefore inefficiently fulfilled. What preserves his name in respect, is the enlarged view he took of the situation in which the provinces were placed, and the statesmanlike measures he proposed. In this respect he rose high above most of his contemporaries. Had he confined himself to the enunciation of a policy, and left to others all executive responsibility, few names would be held in higher estimation. To Shirley's moral fearlessness was added high physical courage, and he was ambitious of possessing the reputation of a military leader. The mishaps of Shirley in this respect are attributable to his want of knowledge of the art of war; the absence of all prevision on his part; his weakness of combination; his neglect of ordinary precaution; his ignorance in letting things take their course, when the remedy was simple and attainable. Although much is disclosed to shew the want of honesty during Shirley's government, he cannot be accused of being personally implicated: but from his political position he was thrown under the influence of men by whom the public interest was sacrificed. Loudoun's statements on this point are plain; but Shirley himself remained poor, and the inference must be drawn that he recognized these combinations, more with the view of sustaining his popularity and position than from greed.

Shirley's first interview with Loudoun is recorded by the latter with the depression of tone habitual to him. Shirley told him while handing over "a few papers of very little use," that he had communicated everything to general Abercrombie, and Loudoun had nothing to do "but pull laurels."* There was not a shilling in the paymaster's hands, and large sums were owing. A few days after his arrival, Loudoun reported that Oswego was defenceless. The men had had no pay for eight months, and Abercrombie had to pledge his personal credit to obtain money for supplies. There had been no provision for the wants of the service: neither camp equipage nor magazines, nor waggons to send forward the food. The vehicles required had to be pressed in the middle of the harvest. Everything was in confusion. The returns set forth that there were 6,900 provincial troops in the field; but the belief was that their number did not exceed 4,000 fit for duty. Some of the officers commanding these regiments desired to undertake expeditions, the magnitude and danger of which they in no way understood. "I think," added Loudoun, "that I shall be able to prevent them doing anything very rash, without their having it in their power to talk the language of this country, that they could have taken all Canada if they had not been prevented by the king's servants."

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* Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., 83.1, p. 11.

The provincial officers entertained the belief that the troops they commanded had been raised for the specific purpose of an expedition against Crown Point, and that they could not be diverted to any other purpose. That French post was as much a threat to New England as against New York. Abercrombie early reported to Loudoun that the Massachusetts troops had received instructions not to march southwest of Albany, or west of Schenectady. There had also grown up a feeling of disinclination to co-operate with the king's troops. In an interview with Winslow, the latter objected to any junction: his regiment desired to serve alone; he, however, asked to take the opinion of the principal officers. When Shirley was spoken to on the subject, he had answered that they would serve under him.†

A council of war had been held at Albany on the 16th of July. Winslow showed his usual good sense, and expressed himself personally desirous that the junction should be made, but he apprehended, if attempted, that there would be almost universal desertion. His own officers considered that they were strong enough to reduce Crown Point. They looked for reinforcements, which would not be sent if they acted with the

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* Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., 83.1, p. 26.

† This word is written in Abercrombie's letter to Loudoun [3rd August, 1756. A. & W. I., 83.1, p. 32] in capital letters. (*sic*) "HIM."

King's troops. It was agreed that a meeting of the field officers should be convened. The debate lasted five days, when it was determined that if the field officers would lose their rank no junction should be made.

The same objections were entertained by the Rhode Island troops. A notice was sent to the colonel that he was to serve under Winslow; indeed so strong was the feeling that the junction was not considered advisable, and the regulars remained apart at fort Edward, Saratoga and Half Moon.

It is not possible to absolve Shirley from blame for his neglect of Oswego. It is to him that the responsibility must be affiliated, that the place was so ill supplied with provisions during winter, that the troops suffered from sickness, and there was in all quarters great discontent that no pay had been given them. What was even more a matter of blame, the fort was defenceless from its imperfect construction, and no efficient steps had been taken to make it defensible. It was also of paramount necessity that the British provinces should retain naval supremacy on lake Ontario, for with this advantage no landing could have been made by the French. In common with all that was required, this self-evident duty had been neglected and one of the vessels had been taken almost in sight of Oswego.

A letter is extant to Shirley, from Mercer, who was killed at the siege, written a few days previous to the attack. With some despondency it sets forth the neglect of every precaution. Pepperell's regiment had had no pay for eight months. The price of labour in completing the fortifications had been injudiciously reduced. The allowance of rum to the soldiers had been stopped, for there was none to give them. The French had agents constantly tempting the men to desert by promise of great rewards: he himself was receiving "anonymous threatenings to desert if regard is not paid to what they (the troops) call their just complaints." From want of money it was thought impracticable to carry on the public works longer than the 17th. There was no authority to draw bills, except by the verbal orders of Shirley's secretary, Mr. Alexander, and Lewis, the paymaster, was afraid to act upon such instructions from the fear of future embarrassments. Eleven men had just deserted from the 50th and fourteen from the 51st. An Indian had brought notice that the French were numerous at Cataraqui, and that they designed an attack at the next new moon; moreover, that a French camp had been formed four days' march to the eastward.*

There could be no doubt in the minds of public men in provincial life of the value of Oswego, if the future sovereignty of the southern shores of lake Ontario was to be maintained as British territory. If held of little account, why place a garrison there? It was impossible not to have foreseen that the establishment of this northern port would eventually lead to hostilities, and that it could only be held by its strength and the valour of its defenders: nevertheless, the place was left imperfectly fortified, and during the winter insufficiently provided, and with a garrison unpaid and discontented.

One of the charges against Shirley is, that a quantity of the provisions sent to Oswego arrived in a valueless condition, and that a portion became bad from exposure. The building, in which the supplies should have been protected, was filled with goods for trade with the Indians.† From want of proper storage the provisions had been left exposed to the sun and weather, and hence their deterioration to such an extent, that a large quantity was left behind by the French, on their departure, as unfit for use. The goods for the Indian trade, according to Loudoun, were sent up by Shirley and his friends at the king's expense. On three occasions fourteen, twelve and eight *bateaux* were so employed, with smaller convoys at other dates.

Whatever Loudoun's faults, he cannot be held responsible for the loss of Oswego. Shortly after his arrival he gave Webb the local rank of major general, so that he should be supreme in his command. The attack on Oswego took place the eighteenth day after his arrival in New York. He described the loss of Oswego as "this very fatal event," and he instructed Webb not to quit his post if it could possibly be held. In his letters to England he spoke of the disaster as "a large Pill to swallow."

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* Mercer to Shirley, Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 83.1, pp. 101-6, 2nd July, 22nd July, 1756.

† Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., 83.1, p. 246.

Accompanying the news of Oswego, came the intelligence that a number of Indians under a French officer had attacked fort Granville on the Junita in Pennsylvania, constructed at a point commanding the navigation. A lieutenant and twenty-four men were in the fort; the remainder of the garrison had been ordered out to assist the settlers in getting in their harvest. The lieutenant and some of the men were killed; the rest were carried off prisoners. After demolishing the fort the assailants set up a French flag, which they left there. So great was the depression in this district of Pennsylvania, that the country was abandoned by the inhabitants who had settled there, from the feeling that the government was unable to protect them.

Judging that there was no chance of success, Loudoun directed Winslow not to advance against Crown Point, and this exercise of control does not appear to have caused dissatisfaction. De Lévis records in his journal, how constantly he sent out parties to occupy the attention of the William Henry garrison, in order that a large force should be considered necessary to its defence, and that no reinforcements should be sent to Oswego. He takes credit for the success of his efforts, but a knowledge, of the condition of affairs at Albany, shews that no such design was entertained.

After the news of the fall of Oswego was confirmed Loudoun addressed a circular to all the provinces as far as Georgia. He called for their assistance in completing their quota of men, and asked that instructions should be given to these levies to act in connection with the king's troops. In July, New Hampshire had refused this request, or, as it was euphemistically voted, "this Paragraph to Lye for the present under consideration." He now told the legislatures "that the colonies would have the whole Indian power on their back," and he called upon them to put their frontier in safety, and that all he could undertake was to defend the country. At this date he looked forward to an invasion of the British territory by lake Champlain, and his circular was not worded so as to restore confidence, or awaken courage. In his letters to the home government he dwelt on the difficulties of his position, and he saw little in the attitude of the provinces which he could satisfactorily report. It is not improbable, that the expression of this opinion suggested to Chatham his unfitness for command. By his own admission he could awaken no enthusiasm, and could scarcely hope for even decent co-operation. To use his own words, he experienced not only "a general backwardness in every colony, but even almost in every individual on this continent to aid in carrying on the public service, and every expense raised as high as possible to the crown."*

It is evident from the frequent mention of the fact, that food and provisions were exported to the French from the British provinces. The provincial assemblies were called upon to forbid this proceeding. Loudoun wrote to England that he had strong reasons for belief that the trade was carried on. One Wheelwright, of Boston, is named as actively participating in it, and the Dutch of New York are particularly mentioned as furnishing provisions: as the trade was profitable many were engaged in it.

It is a strange record to make that the provinces in the first instance declined to find quarters for the imperial troops, sent by the mother-country to fight in their defence. Shirley in his day had found for them the meanest of accommodation. He placed the troops with double rows of beds in such buildings as he could obtain; an arrangement carried out at the expense of the comfort and health of the soldier. Officers were allowed what was called "slaaf gelt," a small sum as lodging money, utterly insufficient to meet the expense. Loudoun was at this time engaged in recruiting for the four battalions of the "Royal Americans."* He heard that the intention was to establish the troops in some block-houses and temporary barracks, insufficient in themselves, and that no preparations were to be made for the recruits he was enlisting. No provision was to be made for the reception of officers. He strongly protested against these arrangements, pointing out the difference between peace and war; he contended that it was incumbent upon the citizens to furnish fit quarters for the troops. He was the more firm in his demands as the remaining provinces were waiting to see the result of the pretensions of New York. Should the province succeed in avoiding the obligation, Loudoun might expect on all sides the same refusal to receive the regiments, without some special payment. Loudoun prevailed, but not without difficulty; the troops were found quarters and the officers decently provided for.

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* Loudoun to Fox, 3rd Oct., 1756. [Can. Arch., Series A .& W. I., 83.1, p. 24.]

Loudoun's representations of the policy of attacking Quebec so far obtained support in London that he was informed that a force of 8,000 men was to be embarked, with a strong fleet to co-operate. He was ordered, with the troops he could dispose of in the British provinces, to rendezvous at Halifax. As late as the 25th of April no plan of operations had been communicated to him. The troops were assembled at New York for the purpose of being embarked. The arrival at Louisbourg of a French fleet was known, and it was feared that, without a convoy sufficiently strong to encounter it, the transports would run the risk of being attacked by a superior force. An embargo was placed upon the shipping to prevent the intelligence of the sailing of the expedition being carried to the enemy. It was this order which caused the delay of which Franklin complains in his autobiography, and which he misrepresents as being attributable to the irresolution of Loudoun.

A fleet had been manned in England under admiral Holbourne, consisting of fifteen ships of the line and some frigates, with fifty transports containing 6,200 troops, commanded by general Hopson, who constituted the land force taking part in the expedition. Owing to want of proper effort, and several delays having arisen, the ships did not leave England until the 5th of May. Sir Charles Hardy was in command of the vessels at New York, having lately resigned the governorship of that province to return to his naval duties.

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* The present imperial regiment, the 60th, "The King's Royal Rifle Corps."

Early in May Loudoun received orders to embark, and to sail for Halifax, where the object of the expedition would be made known. There had been many desertions from the ships of war in order to join privateers, owing to the large amount of money made by following that career. Several vessels were therefore wanting in strength. Loudoun caused the town to be surrounded by his troops, and as the *cordon* advanced the deserters were arrested, and placed on shipboard. The fear, however, remained of sailing with an insufficient convoy. Loudoun reported the danger of his position at the end of May,* adding, in his gloomy way: "If they meet us there is an end of the troops that go from thence." Nothing was to be heard of Holbourne's ships, and he was paralyzed by their non-appearance.

After some hesitation Loudoun determined to sail, and run the risk of the attack by which he felt that he was threatened. The troops were embarked on the 5th of June, and were to be escorted by the few vessels of sir Charles Hardy. Had the French but known of the departure of the transports and their weakness against attack by vessels in force, they might have annihilated the expedition, or have made prisoners of the whole. All the precaution that was possible was taken; vessels were sent out to cruise to learn if there was any sign of the French fleet, and on the report that no enemy's flag was visible the vessels sailed on the 20th to cross to Halifax.

Webb was left in command. On leaving New York Loudoun had written that he hoped Crown Point and Ticonderoga might be taken: a view of the situation which shows how Loudoun failed to comprehend the extent of the

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* Loudoun to Pitt, 30th May, 1757. Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., 85.2, p. 280.

French force which Webb would have had opposed to him, and how ignorant he was of the consummate ability of the generals at their head. One matter justly caused him vexation: Loudoun was governor of Virginia, the executive duties of the office being performed by Dinwiddie, as lieutenant-governor. The latter, without authority, raised the embargo which had been enforced along the sea-board, while it was being continued at New York. The step was mortifying to Loudoun, as it placed him in a false position, for it appeared as if he was favouring his own government at the expense of the remaining provinces. The jealousy of the provincial was always easily excited, and men were never wanting, who, for purposes of their own, were ready to appeal to this sensitiveness. It does not appear that any unpleasant consequences resulted. Indeed, the events of the succeeding fortnight were all powerful to command attention, for on the 8th of July Montcalm commenced his advance on fort William Henry.

The French fleet, not knowing the prize which was escaping them, remained quietly at anchor at Louisbourg, themselves looking for the attack which spies in London had positively reported would be made. Loudoun arrived safely in Halifax on the 30th of June. On the 9th of July Holbourne with his ships were in front of Halifax, but so thick and continuous was the fog, that it took five days to enter port, although sir Charles Hardy sent out thirteen sloops of war with pilots to assist the incoming ships.

Much historical ridicule has been thrown upon Loudoun for the "impotent conclusion" of the year's operations. Writers speak of these operations as the "cabbage-planting expedition;" but really this lampoon has preserved the recollection of the prudence and foresight shown by Loudoun. It must be remembered that he only remained in Halifax forty-seven days, for he sailed away on the 16th of August. In this time, in order to obtain fresh vegetables for the troops as a preventive to the scourge of scurvy so often experienced, and to keep the troops in health, he employed them in planting pot herbs and cabbages. It was, at least, a healthy employment of the time of the troops, and it was hoped would be a set-off against the tendency to drinking then so common with soldiers on service. The men's health, indeed, suffered from the bad rum they obtained by means of the peddling, unlicensed rabble which follow every *corps d'armée*, pests against which it is scarcely possible to guard. Owing to the sickness which affected the troops from this cause, an order was given to secure all the liquor in the place, and to lock it up in the king's stores. This occupation of planting vegetables, with field days and drilling, occupied the time of the men. It was during this period that the episode in which lord Charles Hay figured took place. Hay had seen some service, and chafing under the inactivity, he made himself prominent by his insubordination, publicly attacking Loudoun's generalship, stating that the public money was wasted in cabbage planting and sham fights.* Loudoun, in reporting the fact, asked that Hay might be instructed to remain at New York until further orders. On a second occasion he stated that "he had been forced to rougher measures." Finally, on Forbes, the adjutant-general, reporting that Hay, on being refused leave, had stated he would take it, Loudoun placed him under arrest.†

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* Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., 85.2, Loudoun to Holderness, 5th and 6th August, pp. 341, 343, and Fforbes, p. 344.

† Lord Charles Hay was the third son of the marquis of Tweeddale, and was present with the guards at Fontenoy, in 1745. He is generally accredited as being the utterer of the speech calling upon the French guards to fire first. When placed under arrest for his contumacy he was third in command to Loudoun and Hopson. He was sent to England to be brought before a court-martial. The court did not assemble until February, 1760, lord Charles died the first of May following, before the sentence was promulgated. Boswell quotes Johnson as saying, "I wrote something for lord Charles, and I thought that he had nothing to fear from a court-martial. I suffered a great loss when he died, he was a mighty pleasing man in conversation, and a reading man. [Croker's Boswell, III., p. 375.] Croker adds that he consulted the minutes of the court-martial, but he could find nothing he could attribute to Johnson. Langton gives the more probable account. Owing to Langton's frequent praise of Johnson, Hay requested to be introduced to him. They met several times; on one occasion lord Charles read the MS. he had prepared, upon which Johnson said, "it was a good soldierly defence." Johnson, however, pointed out that it was in vain to contend with

Intelligence had reached Halifax of the presence of a large force at Louisbourg. In the first instance its strength had been understated; but the capture of a vessel disclosed the fact that fifteen ships of the line and three frigates were in the harbour, and that 6,000 troops, 3,000 militia and 1,300 Indians were present. A council of war was held on the 5th of August, and it was resolved "to lay aside all thoughts of attacking Louisbourg." Loudoun accordingly embarked a portion of his troops for New York on the 16th of August, leaving the 1st battalion Royal Americans, the 27th, 28th, 43rd and 46th regiments to defend Nova Scotia, the force of which had previously consisted of three regiments. He proceeded to New York with the 17th, 22nd, 42nd, 44th, 48th and 55th regiments, and the 2nd and 4th battalions of the Royal Americans, with the rangers.

Holbourne sailed the same day as Loudoun, and parted company with him to arrive off Louisbourg. Learning that the French fleet had received an accession of strength, he deemed it unwise to risk a battle, and returned to Halifax. Having been joined by two ships of the line, one of 70 and one of 60 guns, on the 11th of September he again sailed to Louisbourg, in the hope that the French would come out to attack him. The challenge was not accepted, the duty of the French admiral being to protect the fortress. While cruising in the neighbourhood, about ten leagues to the south of the fort, the fleet was caught in a hurricane of great violence, which lasted for several hours. The vessels were carried towards the coast, and had the wind continued in the same direction the whole fleet must have been driven on the rocky shore of Cape Breton. Eleven ships lost their masts; many had to throw their cannon overboard. The "Tilbury," with a crew of 280 men, was wrecked, and many perished. On the 4th of October eight ships, greatly damaged, reached Halifax,

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those who were in possession of power; if they would offer him the rank of lieutenant-general and a government it would be better to desist from urging his complaints." [Ib., IV., p. 355.] It accordingly may be inferred that Hay himself had demanded the inquiry.

while others found refuge at New York. Some ships of war were left for the protection of Nova Scotia, and the remainder sailed for England. The French fleet remained at Louisbourg until the end of October, when it sailed homeward; leaving two ships of the line and one frigate for the defence of the harbour.

The disastrous close of the expedition from which so much had been expected caused general dissatisfaction and disappointment. Contemporary writers in the mother country did not fail to attribute the failure to the dreary government under which England groaned.* The one theory of the ministers in power was the advancement of their own political fortunes, and the assurance of support from the obsequious followers who unfalteringly sustained them. In a country possessing free institutions, men obtain the government they deserve. It is on the constituencies that the choice of their rulers depends; it is they who, for good or for evil confer the executive authority, and it is their prerogative to banish an incompetent minister into obscurity. If through corruption, or motives of interest, or indifference, or indolence, they fail to act wisely in exercising this privilege, they must pay the penalty of their neglect of public duty, by suffering the calamities of misrule. The truth nevertheless remains that when the government falls into bad hands, there always lies the remedy in the expression of opinion by honest men to confer power on those from whom a faithful execution of the public trust may be anticipated.

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* "In this manner ended the expedition to Louisbourg, more unfortunate to the nation than the preceding designs on Rochefort; less disgraceful to the commanders, but equally the occasion of ridicule and triumph to our enemies; indeed, the unhappy consequences of the political disputes at home, the instability of the administration, and the frequent revolutions in our councils, were strongly manifested by that languor infused into all our military operations, and general unsteadiness in our pursuits: faction in the mother-country produced divisions and misconduct in the colonies; no ambition to signalize themselves appeared among the officers, from the uncertainty whether their services were to be rewarded or condemned; their attachment to particular persons weakened the love they ought to have entertained for their country in general, and destroyed that spirit of enterprise, that firmness and resolution, which constitutes the commander, and without which, the best capacity, joined to the most uncorruptible integrity, can effect nothing." Smollett, chap. XXVII., 20.

It was on his way to New York, on the 18th of August, by a despatch boat, that Loudoun heard of the capture of fort William Henry, accompanied by a demand that he should take steps for the protection of Albany.

CHAPTER III.

On the evening of the 5th of January, 1757, an event took place at Versailles which indirectly influenced the war in Canada, for it led to the removal of de Machault, the minister of marine, and of d'Argenson, secretary of state for war : the ministers hitherto charged with conducting the operations of the campaign. Their replacement at this time by inferior men injuriously interfered with the despatch to Canada of the reinforcements and the material of war so urgently required. De Machault had originally owed his favour to the influence of Madame de Pompadour. The jesuit party were now again supreme, including as supporters the new archbishop of Paris de Beaumont, and bishop Boyer, whose duties included the recommendation to benefices ; an office giving him great power. Both were strong supporters of the doctrines laid down by the bull *Unigenitus*, and were firm advocates of the supremacy of the church above the state. This party had obtained thorough control of the mind of the dauphin :* they looked upon his future accession as a certain assurance of its unlimited ascendancy. Regarding Madame de Pompadour as unfriendly to them, the higher clergy had attacked her by refusing the sacraments equally to herself and the king.

The crisis was one of threatened national bankruptcy ; it was in this emergency they determined to affirm the power of the church that as a divine institution it should be freed from the general taxation. De Machault, as minister of finance, opposed all such exemption, he was unfriendly to the political pretensions of the clergy. D'Argenson, on the other hand, was an antagonist of the self-assertion of parliaments, and in the disputes with the clergy he took the ecclesiastical side.

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* Owing to the jealousy of the king, the dauphin was denied all participation in state affairs ; his naturally melancholy mind, unappealed to by duty and occupation, found resource in the acceptance of the extreme ultramontane doctrines. He is reported to have said, "Si je suis appelé au trône, et que l'église me commande d'en descendre j'en descendrai." He died the 20th of December, 1765. Three of his sons sat upon the throne of France, the unfortunate Louis XVI., the second son, Louis XVIII., and Charles X.

De Machault had shewn considerable ability in finding funds to carry on the war; after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle he saw plainly that the condition of France would not admit any reduction of her marine, and that a large expenditure was indispensable for the repayment of the debt and the equipment of the navy. Accordingly, he undertook the task of reforming the system of taxation, by which the debt could be gradually extinguished and provision made for the national necessities. In 1749, he proposed the continuance of the *dixième*, which had been established in 1741, with the understanding that it was to be suppressed at the peace. He desired to retain the tax in the modified form of the twentieth part of all revenues, without power of immunity by gifts or redemption, extending over the whole population, including the incomes of the clergy. An outcry was at once raised against the so-called sacrilege; the clergy determined to resist the tax, on the ground that it was their duty to obey God rather than man, and as a corollary avoid all obligation to the state.

A revival of the assertion of the power of the church followed: one form it took was the rigid enforcement of the edict of Nantes, so that every opposing influence should be strangled in its cradle. The direct consequence was the persecution of the Protestants. The old infamous tyranny was renewed wherever the provincial governors could be led to take part in it. Children christened out of the church were taken from their parents; Protestants assembled for worship were shot down or taken prisoners. In 1752, Bénezet, a Protestant minister, was hanged at Montpellier for performing the ceremonies of his church. In 1754, Lafage, a preacher, was seized in Lower Languedoc, and in twenty-four hours hanged by authority of the intendant. The bishops were called upon to instruct their clergy to refuse the sacraments of the church to all who could not produce *billets* *de confession.*[*] In modern times we cannot appreciate the consequence of this assumption of power. In our generation a *curé* in any civilized country refusing to perform the burial service over a corpse, it would be carried to the first protestant burial ground and be decently interred. At that date the denial of the customary ceremony at the grave, was in itself typical of disgrace, and shocked every social and religious feeling. The proceeding gave immense power to the priesthood, for ecclesiastics of moderate views were forced by their superiors to act with severity. The more capable of the laity indignantly condemned the arrogance of the clergy, whether the dictate of a calculated prudence or springing from belief in the policy of persecution, and eventually France became awakened to its mischief: public feeling became so strong that restraint was placed upon it. In 1755 Boyer died, de Beaumont was exiled from Paris, and Pope Benoit XIV. intervened to obtain peace. A compromise was made: the *billets de confession* were withdrawn, and the right of taxation of the clergy was waved.[†] De Machault, however, was not sacrificed, but he was removed from the finance to the marine, in which office he shewed great ability and energy, his efforts being successfully given to the creation of the French navy.

As the continental complications attained force the French ministry became divided into two parties: one desirous of forming a confederacy with Prussia, Sweden and Poland, thus forming a powerful coalition against any union between Russia and Austria. Such had been the ancient policy of Richelieu, which constantly had opposed all increase of the power of Austria. In opposition to these views there were those who favoured an abandonment of the ancient alliances in order to accept the offer of Maria Theresa and to follow a policy in common with the empress. The latter had really in view the partition of Prussia; the inducement offered to France to co-operate, being a cession of a portion of Flanders, to widen the French eastern frontier, while Maria Theresa would herself regain Silesia.

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[*] A certificate that confession has been made.

[†] Numerous pamphlets appeared on both sides of the controversy, in which the privileges and morals of the upper clergy were vigorously attacked. Voltaire published anonymously "*Voix du sage et du peuple.*" He contended that there were not two powers in the state; that the prince was absolute master of all regulations affecting ecclesiastics in relation to public order. He advised the king to give back to the "laws of nature the imprudent men and the imprudent women who have made vows hurtful to society at an age when it is not permitted of any one to dispose of property," and boasted of the services of philosophy in destroying superstition, always the enemy of princes. [Henry Martin, XV., p. 410.] On one occasion complaint was made against a book, and its suppression obtained. In the published notice of its condemnation the book was described as making the clergy appear as the body the least useful to society.

It was impossible not to foresee that the latter alliance would lead to war on the European continent, which would embrace a wide area: while with Prussia on the side of France the hostilities could be kept within narrow limits, and the efforts of France could then be directed principally against the naval supremacy of England. De Machault and d'Argenson were alike in favour of the former. I must content myself in stating that the conclusion of these negotiations was the acceptance of the offer of Maria Theresa, based on the policy of threatening the Hanoverian dominions of George II., and by awakening his fears of losing his electorate, deter him from active opposition to the designs of France.

It was in the ferment of this dispute between the state and the church that Damiens' attempt took place. The night was dark; imperfectly lighted by a few lanterns, the king was about entering a carriage to proceed with the dauphin to the Trianon. As he approached the doorstep he felt a blow in the breast, and on raising his hand to the place found it covered with blood. Owing to Damiens being the only person having his head covered, he was recognized as the assailant. He was seized and searched. All that was found on him was a prayer-book, thirty pieces of gold, and a two-bladed knife: it was with the small blade that the wound had been inflicted.*

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* It will ever remain a problem difficult to determine under what influence Damiens acted. Writers of authority have described him as a man of weak intellect carried away by monomania. His own explanation was that he only desired to give a warning to the king, and lead him to punish the archbishop, the

The injury was slight: Voltaire called it a "*pique d'épingle.*" The king, however, caused himself to be carried to bed, as if dying; it was subsequently explained that he believed the knife was poisoned. He caused absolution to be given to him five or six times; summoned the dauphin, directed him to preside at the councils, and acted as if he had but a few hours to live. As always happens in such cases, the favourite was deserted, while the whole court crowded round the supposed newly-ascended king. The clergy saw their opportunity, and

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cause of all the trouble. Other writers trace the attempt to the inspiration of the jesuits. In 1761 Mr. Hans Stanley was sent to France to carry on negotiations for peace. When there he wrote confidential letters as to the condition of the country. On the 9th of June, 1761, he wrote to Pitt: "Since the affair of Damiens the king has never been easy in his mind. If, when he is hunting, or on any occasion he meets a person whom he is not used to see, he starts and is extremely agitated. The jesuits are charged by the vulgar as promoters of that attempt. The Dauphin is esteemed much attached to that society, which does not make him beloved, as they are generally hated." [Lord Mahon's History of England, vol. IV., p. 221.]

Damiens was twenty-two years of age, the son of a farmer in the north of France, near Arras. He had received but little education owing to his father having been unfortunate. He commenced life at the jesuit college at Arras as cook; he left that position to take a situation as a servant, and he is accused of having been guilty of theft. He again obtained a situation as cook in the jesuit college at Paris. A few weeks before the attempt he had again obtained a place as servant.

Damiens was subjected to cruel torture to obtain a confession from him. An instrument which had been invented by the pontifical inquisitors at Avignon was specially obtained to increase his sufferings. Damiens went through this horrible ordeal with great fortitude. To the last he denied that he had any accomplices of any kind. He admitted, however, that he had confessed his intention eight days previously to a jesuit father, and had received absolution.

At his trial, presided over by Maupeou, it was laid down that it was not necessary to enter into minor details. Damiens was simply found guilty. He suffered death on the 28th of March on the Place de Grève, under conditions of infamous and revolting cruelty. What was additionally disgraceful, women of the *haute noblesse* and the wealthy *bourgeoisie* at great cost hired the windows from which they could look on the butchery. Damiens, stripped naked, was bound with iron chains to a stake; his right hand, bound in sulphur, was held over a fire until it was consumed to charcoal; pieces from his body were pulled forth with red-hot tongs, and boiling oil and melted pitch and lead poured into his wounds. Finally four horses were yoked to his arms and legs, and he was torn asunder: horrible suffering which he endured for three hours.

obtained an order that Madame de Pompadour should be exiled from the court. It was conveyed to her by de Machault. Madame de Pompadour contrived to delay her departure. After some days passed in bed, the king rose, and, as was his custom, found his way to the house of his mistress. She saw herself re-established in power; favour she had never lost.* One of her first efforts was to obtain the dismissal of de Machault, who, she felt, had abandoned her in the hour of peril. D'Argenson fell into disgrace, owing to a letter being intercepted, in which he had made disrespectful allusions to the king, and he had been prominent in his homage to the dauphin. Advances of friendship were made to him on the part of Madame de Pompadour ; they were repelled by him. On the 2nd of February, 1757, he was exiled and replaced by his nephew, the marquis de Paulmy. The removal of these ministers at this particular period exercised an unfortunate influence on the conduct of the war in America. Their successors were without ability, and have long been forgotten.

The news of the change reached Canada in June, when de Lévis at once wrote to the new minister, M. de Paulmy, congratulating him on his appointment.†

The proposed attack of fort William Henry was now resolved upon : the hinderance had hitherto been the want of provisions. The supplies sent from France for the colony had failed to furnish what was required ; for even with this assistance there were scarcely provisions for two months. The imperfectly defended frontier of New York was known to the French. The preparations for the expedition by Loudoun could not be concealed, and on the arrival of the ships in spring, at Quebec, its destination against Louisbourg became known from the information obtained by spies in London.

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* Mde. de Pompadour died 15th of April, 1764 : her relations with the king had lasted nineteen years. Her death in no way affected his callous nature.

† De Lévis' last letter to d'Argenson was dated the 15th of April : his first letter to de Paulmy the 20th of June. The latter was the nephew of d'Argenson, to whom de Lévis expressed his regret at the exile of his uncle. "Je ne peux qu'être très faché de sa disgrace." At the same time he enclosed a letter for d'Argenson. [Lettres du Chevalier de Lévis, p. 112.]

The British commander could in no way have foreseen the consequences of the withdrawal of the regular troops from the upper Hudson, leaving behind as the only force the garrisons of forts Edward and William Henry, with the few troops to maintain communication with Albany. There were about 2,600 men at fort Edward, mostly provincials, called out for service, without discipline, including 200 of the Royal Americans, lately enlisted recruits. William Henry was garrisoned by six companies of the 35th, under lieut.-colonel Monroe. The preparations which were being made by the French did not augur quiet times for the British garrisons. Early in July intelligence had been brought that troops were being massed at Ticonderoga. It was indeed impossible to conceal the movements on either side, the operations were carried on in so narrow a limit, that the scouts could scarcely err in obtaining tidings of what was doing. The advanced French lines of Ticonderoga were only thirty miles distant by the lake from the British fort. The lake was enclosed by a high range of mountains on both sides to make attack impracticable by any route but by water. The French, however, were constantly sending parties up the narrow part of lake Champlain, called by them the river Chicot, to threaten fort Edward. They landed at the head of the small bay, and made their way across to the road between the two forts; there being but twenty-four miles or so from their canoes to the Hudson. The fact is important in judging the subsequent conduct of Webb.

Webb appears to have fully understood the difficulties of his position. The French were always able in a few hours to become masters of lake George, by means of the short portage from lake Champlain, although a work of labour from its height. There had been little attempt to replace the British vessels destroyed by de Rigaud in March, although some few barges had been constructed. One of the first conditions of the defence of the fort was that an attack by water could be resisted. But the whole strength of the country had been diverted to the naval expedition proceeding to Halifax. There was every facility to complete a flotilla on lake George.

Loudoun mentions colonel Meserve, of the New Hampshire troops, a ship-builder of great ability and energy,* who could, if properly sustained, have furnished vessels in sufficient force even to have been aggressive. But the opportunity was neglected amid the preparations for what was considered the more important enterprise.

As it was evident some movement was designed by the French, Webb proceeded to fort William Henry to examine into its defences. The troops which the fort could not accommodate had been established on the north-western side, in an imperfectly protected camp, as the situation was considered too exposed, they were removed to a rocky eminence on the southeastern side, and the place was well intrenched. Colonel Young was sent with a reinforcement of 200 of the Royal Americans and 800 provincials, with two brass 12 prs. and two 6-prs. The detachment of artillery was under the command of captain McCloud. The reinforcement left Webb with 1,600 provincial troops to defend fort Edward and the entire frontier.†

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* Loudoun speaks highly of Meserve. [Can. Arch., Series A. & W.I., 85.1, pp. 7-8.] "The most useful person I have found among the provincials is a colonel Meserve, who commands the regiment from New Hampshire. He is a shipbuilder and is an active, sensible man, that has no scruples, but is ready to do whatever you desire of him. He has built us a bridge from fort Edward to the island; he has built us large flat bottom'd boats for passing rivers, and carrying great loads; he has greatly assisted in carrying on the fortifications; and now at last has got his people to engage by the piece, to finish some of the barracks and to raise one whole face of the fort five feet much cheaper than we could have done it. And by him I have got a large quantity of timber cut to be floated down here, for making carriages for the cannon, which almost all I have seen in this country, stand much in need of; and there is very little to be got and that very dear; by this means I shall have a very large stock provided at no other expense but the cutting and floating down, and in a little time have seasoned wood, which is a thing not to be found in this country at present. As he has received nothing for his labours and pains (for the colonel does not scruple to work with an axe, when he sees other people do not do it to his liking) I propose to make him a present of a piece of plate of the value of twenty-five or thirty pounds, which will make him happy, and, I hope, raise an emulation among the others. This is the only gratuity I have proposed to give."

Meserve rendered equally good service at Louisbourg: during the siege he unhappily fell a victim to the small-pox.

† Webb to Loudoun, Fort Edward, 5th of August, 1757. [Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., 85.2, p. 389.]

In addition to the weakness of the force opposed to the French, their own narrow stock of provisions enforced upon them the necessity of at once taking the field. De Rigaud's expedition in March had consumed a great quantity of the supplies collected in early winter. What additional food could be purchased from the *habitants* had been obtained; but even with what had been received from France the total quantity would barely furnish subsistence to the troops to the end of August;* thus no time could be lost if the campaign was to be undertaken.

The relations between Montcalm and de Vaudreuil were greatly strained. In a letter to the minister of marine† Montcalm described de Vaudreuil as one who had no character of his own, and was surrounded by men who praised Montcalm to him in order to excite his jealousy and foster Canadian prejudice. There had been some feeling, owing to a serious illness of the governor-general during the winter, when his death appeared probable, and it had been a matter of doubt whether Montcalm or de Rigaud would be called upon to assume the government. Bigot desired that Montcalm should obtain precedence.

Independently of his lower rank M. de Rigaud, from his "incapacity" commanded little public respect. Montcalm described him as "this short sighted man, always led by the first comer, and as one who would have embarrassed matters." From the absence of any defined regulation Montcalm asked that a sealed letter should be sent to Canada, so that in the event of the governor's death he would assume authority.

Even when engaged in organizing the expedition against William Henry, Montcalm asked for his recall at the earliest possible moment. He was wasting his health, he wrote, to no purpose, where he could not act in the King's service as he desired, and where the governor was occupied in depreciating the service performed by him and the land troops,* at the same time making them responsible for any failure that might happen.†

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* N.Y. Doc., X., p. 631.

† 11th July, 1757. N.Y. Doc., X., p. 576.

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* De Vaudreuil belonged to the marine force ; [Vide Ante. III., 552-3.] there was occasionally jealousy between these two branches of the service.

† The heavy expenses to which Montcalm was subjected as general in command, with the inadequacy of the allowance to meet them, were a source of such dissatisfaction that he wrote complaints on the subject to France. It will be seen when the career of Wolfe has to be narrated, that although the general in command of the expedition at Quebec, he received no allowances commensurate with his obligations : another of the strange coincidences in the career of the two men. We cannot read without pain the representations made by Montcalm of the necessity to which he was subjected of expending his private fortune, to meet his official expenses. It will be my duty to shew how the unworthy treatment of Wolfe was continued after his death. There is no ground to suppose that the children of Montcalm received greater consideration. Whatever may be dreaded by those who oppose the extension of liberal institutions, it is certain that no such meanness and wrong can be anticipated : it may be looked for that any indiscretion would lie on the side of excessive liberality. Montcalm thus explains his position as commander of the forces : " My pay is only twenty-five thousand *livres*. I have none of the perquisites of the governors or intendants of Canada ; I must support a staff ; I do nothing beyond, neither do I anything beneath, my station.

I am obliged to give myself importance, single handed ; no person seeks to give me any here. They would fain try to deprive me of it, but they will not succeed. M. de Machault admitted that I was not adequately paid ; he promised to make it up to me and to attend to it. I did not come here to carry home money, but should be sorry to make a hole here in the little patrimony of six children.

I have, nevertheless, expended ten thousand francs beyond my allowance, and shall continue, since the expense I incur is necessary. I flatter myself you will assist me to pay my debts." [As translated, N.Y. Doc., X., p. 578.]

CHAPTER IV.

On the arrival of supplies by the ships from France de Bourlamaque was despatched to Carillon with the regiments, Royal-Rousillon and Béarn, to commence the work necessary to complete the *portage.* On the 3rd of July de Lévis left Montreal for St. John's, on the Richelieu, where the troops were assembled. On the 7th he arrived at Carillon, with four battalions, and took command of the frontier. The troops were encamped near the falls; de Bourlamaque remained at the fort to perfect the arrangement for the passage of the artillery and ammunition. De Lévis' first duty was to complete the road from lake Champlain over the *portage* so that the boats and artillery could be moved up from lake Champlain to lake George. The road was rapidly completed. The boats which contained the troops, as they arrived, were carried across by night; the day time was given to the passage of the artillery and stores, so no time should be lost.*

Detachments were sent up the lake to examine the northern side † to observe the character of the ground, whether feasible for an advance by land. One of these parties, under de Langy, consisting of 100 Canadians with some Indians, came upon a small party of scouts from the British fort, of which eighteen were killed and eight taken prisoners; four only escaped.

On the 12th of July Marin arrived with 400 Indians, gathered from the tribes west of Detroit; they were to play a prominent part after the capitulation, and it was their excesses and cruelty which were the cause of the one stain on Montcalm's good fame. They were men who knew civilization only by their antagonism to it, and by no means could safely be kept in idleness about encampments. On the third day after their arrival Marin started with 300 Indians and 150 Canadians to ascend the narrows of lake Champlain, the river Chicot; the design was to harass parties from fort Edward. There was a double object in these expeditions: that of concealing the design against fort William Henry and assuming a threatening attitude against fort Edward. Marin reported that he had arrived close to the fort, where he met a detachment of one hundred men, which he defeated and put to flight, killing several and bringing away four prisoners. He returned to his canoes unmolested.

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* On the 19th of July de Lévis wrote to de Vaudreuil: "Sans une pluie de trois jours qui a arreté notre portage, il [Montcalm] l'aurait trouvé presque fini. Nous avons cent cinquante bateaux et quinze pièces de canon passés au lac Saint-Sacrement." (Lettres de de Lévis, p. 125.) At that date de Lévis had only been twelve days at the camp.

† "Suivant la coté du nord." The proper description would be the western side.

On the 18th Montcalm arrived at Ticonderoga with de Rigaud: he found that the *portage* of the guns and boats was nearly complete. There remained only some stores and ammunition to pass to lake George. Parties were continually sent out to harass the British garrisons, to create uncertainty which of the two would be the first attacked. Webb, fully sensible of his difficult position, applied to the governors of the different provinces for reinforcements. There was not time to obtain them before the attack would be made, and could they have been sent, the raw troops, placed in the field without discipline, would have been of little value in the crisis.

On the 23rd of the month a party penetrated as far as fort Edward. On this occasion they met a strong force which was scouting. Webb, in his account to Loudoun, states that the covering party when attacked, as usual, gave way. They lost fourteen men and six or seven wounded, provincial troops; among the killed were a sergeant and a corporal of the 35th. The dead were scalped.* On the British side a party of scouts and Indians surprised a patrol of fifteen grenadiers near the falls, of whom two were killed, two were wounded, the rest fled. The noise of the firing attracted the attention of de Lévis, who started parties in pursuit, but the assailants made good their retreat. De Rigaud, who was in command at the head of the *portage*, with several Indians, sent out two strong parties: one under de Villiers on the path leading to the Mohawk country, with orders to place himself in ambush: the second under de Corbière, of the colonial force, who followed the west side of lake George. His instructions were to conceal himself, and, if possible, cut off the retreat of any parties descending the lake.

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* Webb to Loudoun, fort Edward, 1st August, 1757, Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., vol. 85.2, p. 381.

As night came on the scouts reported that there were several boats on the water. De Corbière immediately despatched some of the swiftest of the Indians to de Rigaud, at the *portage* camp, for assistance. From four to five hundred Indians immediately answered the appeal. The canoes were drawn up and concealed, and the men remained in the bush so that the British boats should be allowed to pass and then be taken in reverse.

The party which was thus falling into almost certain destruction was a force of 300 men, principally of the New Hampshire and New Jersey regiments, which, on the evening of the 23rd, had left fort Edward in twenty-seven whale boats. Webb, in relating the misadventure, gives this date, and speaks of the impossibility of understanding on what principle the expedition was undertaken. De Lévis explains that it was with the intention of seizing prisoners, in order to learn the movements of the French. On the afternoon of the 25th they proceeded some distance up the lake, where they established themselves for the night. It was at this time they were seen by de Corbière's scouts. At daybreak, without sending out parties to feel their way, the boats again started. The orders given by de Corbière were to allow them to pass Sabbath day point,* about twenty-six miles from the fort by water, where the French Indians lay in ambush. The impatience of the Indians precipitated the attack; they issued from their concealment before the boats had passed, advancing rapidly from the shore in their canoes upon the unfortunate detachment.* The British force, moving forward without order, taken by surprise, outnumbered more than two to one, confused by the Indian war-whoop and cries, thus suddenly attacked by an army of canoes, made but little resistance. The Indians attempted to board and capsize the boats. The only effort on the part of the British force was to escape. Of the three hundred men, colonel Parker, with four whale boats only, containing fifty men, re-ascended the lake. About fifty escaped by land, and regained the fort: † two hundred men were killed, drowned or taken prisoners. Montcalm reported that he had 160 prisoners, five of whom were officers.‡ Added to the hundred which found their way back to the fort, forty only could have been killed or drowned, a loss severe in itself, being that of every eighth man. De Lévis informs us that these Indians were composed of twenty-two different nations from the most distant countries, accustomed to carry on war with the greatest cruelty, and in spite of every effort of the generals, it was not possible to prevent the perpetration of much brutality during the campaign.

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* Some writers state that this term took its rise at the time of Amherst, who refreshed his troops there. It is used by Webb two years previously. [Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., 85.2, p. 381.]

On the 28th of July, the preparations being complete, an Indian council was held, in order that the consent of the chiefs could be obtained to the day appointed for the march of the troops. There was a deficiency of boats; it had accordingly been resolved that a detachment should advance along the western side of the lake, and cover the landing when it took place. This force was placed under the command of de Lévis, with de Sénerzergue as his lieutenant; the latter commanding the regiment de la Sarre. The column consisted of 570 land troops, 100 troops of the marine, 1,200 militia, 300 volunteers and 800 Indians, amounting to 2,970 men. On the evening of the 29th de Lévis proceeded, without tents, kettles or equipage, to camp Brulé, half a league from the *portage*, where he bivouacked. On the following day the column started, the Indians and volunteers forming the advance guard. The march over the greater part of the ground was one of severity, on account of the roughness of the country, the heights to be overcome, and the quantity of fallen timber lying in all directions.

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* De Lévis' Journal des Campagnes, p. 86.

† At least such is the meaning I attach to Webb's words in his report to Loudoun [Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., 85.2, p. 382]: "Fifty others escaped, getting to land." The fact is likewise corroborated by de Lévis.

‡ N. Y. Documents, X., p. 591. He estimated that 160 had been killed or drowned. Of the number of his prisoners there could be no mistake. De Lévis relates [Journal, p. 87] that among the prisoners was a New England colonel. In spite of every attempt to obtain his ransom, the Indians carried him away as a slave.

On the 31st, Montcalm, with the force to be embarked, moved up to the camp Brulé; the troops awaited, with impatience, the order to start. There was neither wine nor *eau de vie* in the camp, and they felt all the weariness of indolence, against which they had no resource. The Indians, who nominally were Roman catholic, occupied the time in confession. The three priests could scarcely satisfy the ardour of the penitents. The Indians of the upper country were led by different impulses, as christianity, in any form, was to them unknown. They looked upon any delay as a disastrous augury, threatening misfortune. They accordingly performed a sacrifice to their manitou, and left hanging up to him a full equipment, as Indian worship suggests, to propitiate the ill-favour which they dreaded.*

The embarkation took place at two o'clock in the afternoon of the 1st of August, in 250 boats. The western shore was followed. On reaching Ile-à-la Barque, the Indians formed the advance guard in 150 canoes, and continued to ascend the lake to the bay of Ganaouské, about eight miles from the fort.

On the evening of the 1st, de Lévis arrived at this bay, the point of meeting agreed upon. At ten at night he gave the signal of his presence by lighting three separate fires. From the spot where he was encamped he could observe the whole lake. The advance guard arrived at half-past twelve.

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* De Bougainville au ministre de la guerre, 19th Avril, 1757, [Dessieux, p. 296.]

Montcalm landed at three o'clock. The remainder of the force rapidly followed.

Owing to de Lévis having sent out parties to discover a spot offering conveniences for landing, and the necessity of obtaining rations, he did not start on the following morning until eleven. The country was flat and intersected with several small morasses; at five o'clock he was within two miles of the fort, and he there encamped. He describes himself as plainly in view of the garrison. Montcalm arrived during the evening, and at eleven at night gave orders for the landing to be made. About midnight the scouts became aware of the approach of two barges of the enemy, sent to obtain information. On approaching the shore they saw the danger into which they had fallen, and endeavoured to retreat; one did escape. A crowd of Indians in their canoes darted out to intercept them, and opened fire. The fire was returned, when a Nipissing chief was killed and two of the crew wounded. The second barge was taken, and from the crew, which were made prisoners, Montcalm learned that his projected attack was known; he therefore determined to hasten his operations.

The provincial troops had hitherto occupied a position west of the fort; on the arrival of the French they took possession of the intrenchment which had been commenced as Webb had directed. De Lévis, with his force, passed round the fort and established himself south of it, near the road to fort Edward, to prevent reinforcements arriving. De la Corne, with some Indians, occupied the road itself. In their march the Indians found one hundred and fifty oxen, which, as de Lévis relates, were of great use, for the French obtained fresh meat while the siege lasted. As the advance guard of de Lévis was on the march they came upon a detachment sent out to bring in the cattle, which were at pasture. Opposed to so large a force the British could only retreat. The fact shows that the defenders of the fort were taken by surprise, and that they entirely failed to conceive their true situation.

On taking up this position de Lévis was joined by Montcalm, and together they examined the fort and entrenchments. They formed the opinion that the place could not be stormed, but must be besieged in ordinary form, and the troops received orders to commence the work of the approaches.

At four o'clock on the 3rd, Montcalm sent a summons to surrender. The text of the letter has been preserved,* and the purport is corroborated both by de Lévis and de Bougainville.† Montcalm stated that he had a strong force with artillery, "and all the Savages from the higher parts of the country, the cruelty of which a detachment of your garrison have lately too much experienced. . . . I have it yet in my power to restrain the Savages and oblige them to observe a capitulation as hitherto none of them are killed, which will not be in my power in other circumstances." He pointed out that the defence could only delay the surrender for a few days, and that no succour could be given.

With this statement of Montcalm before us, it is impossible to absolve him from responsibility in the Indian massacres and brutality which succeeded the capitulation. If he could force the Indians to observe the conditions of a capitulation under one character of circumstances, he could have done so under all circumstances. He was perfectly familiar with the promises made to the Indians in order to lead them to take the field. He knew that they were enticed by the hope of plunder and slaughter to take part in the expedition. He had been reproached by de Vaudreuil for the restraint which he had exercised over them at Oswego,‡ and he had been made to understand, if the Indians were to remain faithful to the cause, they were to have their promised reward. It cannot be pretended that Montcalm could have been taken by surprise at the attitude of his Indian allies on the morning of the 10th of August. Before he fired a shot he knew the elements of which his force was composed, and, in event of his success, the consequences against which he had to guard. It will be

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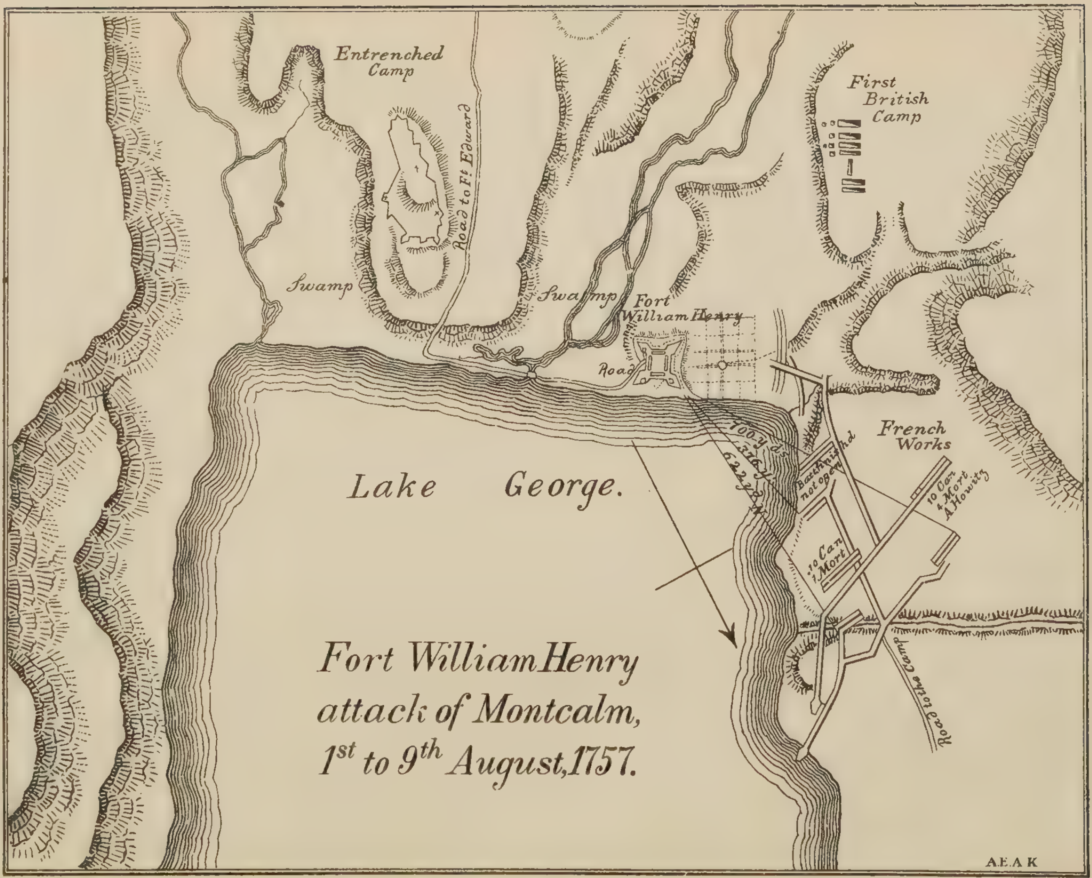
* Que. Doc., IV., p. 123.

† Journal de de Lévis, p. 98. Dessieux, p. 299.

‡ Ante vol. III., p. 570.



Fort William Henry attack of Montcalm, 1st to 9th August, 1757.

seen what precautions were taken by the victors, when the hour arrived for them to observe the terms of the capitulation they had granted. The neglect of their obligations to exercise restraint over the Indians can only be remembered to the discredit of Montcalm and the entire force he commanded. This want of good faith was bitterly felt throughout the British provinces: when the hour came for the surrender of Montreal, the memory of it was sternly acted upon.

Monroe answered to the demand for surrender like a gallant soldier, that it was his duty to defend his post, and that he would do so while he had life. On the morning of the 3rd he had sent a messenger to Webb, to say that the enemy was in sight; at nine he asked to be reinforced; at six in the evening he reported that he had been summoned to capitulate, and Montcalm was present with a numerous army and a superior artillery; that his own men were in good spirits.* On the 4th of August, at six o'clock, he wrote that he was harassed by Indians, that the regulars were constructing batteries, and "that the enemy is between you and us." In a sortie a prisoner had been made, Jaques Vaudrie de la Chesnay: from him he had learned that the enemy had 36 cannon and 4 mortars.

William Henry was a square fort with four bastions. It was not far from the water's edge, and occupied the ground in modern times laid out as a garden to the large hotel now erected there; the west side being about 250 yards from the left shore of the lake. It was surrounded by a ditch in the centre of which was a line of pallisades. The sides consisted of framed timber filled with gravel and stone, in the present day known as crib work. It was massively constructed, being thirty feet in thickness, but it did not possess the strength to resist heavy artillery in a regular siege. The troops which could not be included in the fort were entrenched on a rocky eminence to the east,† and there was a daily relief of the defenders of the fort obtained from the force established at this spot. The total number of defenders, including all present, was about 2,450.*

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* Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., 85.2, p. 393.

† These intrenchments yet remain, to some extent, and are preserved to satisfy the curiosity of the tourist. It was from this spot the garrison started on the 10th to proceed to fort Edward when the attack was made upon them by the Indians.

As there was little prospect of aid from Webb in any attempt to drive the French from their trenches, the one hope of Monroe was, that he would be able to defend himself until the provisions of the French were exhausted, and they would be compelled to raise the siege. The force of Webb at fort Edward had been reduced to 1,600 men; six hundred of those under his command being distributed in the small garrisons on the Hudson, keeping up the communication between Albany and fort Edward.

United States writers blame Webb for not immediately marching to Munroe's relief, had he so acted no greater blunder could have been committed. Webb was without the strength to act with any success against de Lévis, and the Indians of de la Corne. He had no means of increasing his force: the garrisons could only be partially withdrawn from the forts on the Hudson, for they had been reduced to the lowest limit. It was equally impossible for him to have marched out of fort Edward with every man under his command. If relief had been attempted he must have left a strong garrison behind him to guard against the surprise by which he had been constantly threatened. He was without means of communication with Monroe, so that a

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* According to a return in the *Département de la guerre* at Paris, the following is a state of the force on the 9th of August, the day of surrender:—

Royal 35th regiment, all ranks	607
Independent companies	113
Massachusetts regiment	812
New Jersey "	301
New York "	57
Royal Americans "	122
Mounted Rangers	95
Royal Artillery, etc	30
New Hampshire regiment	230
Commissaries	5
Total	2,372

N.Y. Doc., X., p. 625.

sortie from the fort could be attempted on an appointed day when firing was heard to the south, establishing that he himself was in the field. The large force under de Lévis, in his front, cut off every means of communication. Moreover, as was subsequently shewn, any attack on de Lévis would have brought the whole French army upon him. Webb defeated in the field, fort Edward must have fallen and there would have been nothing to oppose the advance of the French to Albany. Supplies, to a large extent, were found at William Henry, and more provisions would have been obtained at fort Edward. The false position in which Webb was placed was attributable to the tactics of Loudoun, in denuding the frontier of troops for the Halifax expedition, thus making defence against any powerful force impossible. Webb has himself described the position in which he was placed, and he shews the injustice of the blame which has been cast upon him.* After relating Parker's unfortunate expedition on the 23rd and 24th of July, when he was attacked 26 miles down the lake, and 200 men were lost; 50 only escaping by boats and 50 through the woods; he states that he immediately wrote pressing letters to put the militia under arms. On the 2nd of August he reinforced fort William Henry to the full extent he was able: lieut. colonel Young being sent with 200 of the Royal Americans, 800 provincials, 6 pieces of cannon and a detachment of artillery. He had only 1,600 troops remaining, exclusive of artificers. Accordingly he called in his several outposts to fort Edward, and on the 6th of August he had 2,500 men, including all who were in the garrison capable of bearing arms. On the day of the surrender there were 2,300 militia under arms at fort Edward, and he did not feel himself warranted in attempting with this number any relief of the garrison.

Much of the unfavourable criticism upon Webb in these circumstances may be attributed to his precipitate destruction of the forts at the carrying-place of the Mohawk when news arrived of the fall of Oswego. It has given rise to a predisposition to judge him unfavourably. Webb, however, whatever his shortcomings on that occasion, appears to have been a good and efficient soldier.

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* Can. Arch., vol. military despatches, 1756-1763, pp. 324, 331, col. Webb to lord Barrington, fort Edward, 17th of August, 1757.

It was an emergency in which higher qualities were called for than mere courage. Montcalm was not a general, in whose presence a blunder in the field would pass unnoticed and unpunished. With his Indian scouts he was kept thoroughly acquainted with the movements of the enemy. Webb has also been judged by the earnestness of Monroe's appeal to him. No standard of criticism can be more unjust. It is the power which Webb possessed to aid Monroe which must be considered: not the critical position in which the fort stood. In that respect Webb was hopelessly weak and could render no assistance, even having fears for his own safety.

De Lévis relates that his especial duty was to see to the communication with the Hudson, and his scouts were incessantly on the watch. The remaining force was formed with its left on the lake and the right against the mountain. De Bourlamaque was placed in charge of the siege. On the night of the 4th the trenches were commenced with 800 men and a covering party of 400 grenadiers. The batteries, commenced at 2,100 feet distance, were pushed forward with great energy. The troops had been camped in the rear, to act immediately in case of a sortie: in this position a portion of them was exposed to the fire from the fort, and loss was experienced, so they were removed out of range.

Webb had applied to the provincial governors for reinforcements, and they had been promised; but the arrival of any troops did not take place until after the surrender. Had they been present, it is difficult to recognize that an undisciplined body of men, newly enlisted, could have rendered any effective service. Webb on the 4th had written plainly to Monroe, that with his present force he could not march to his assistance or send him reinforcements until the arrival of the provincial militia, which had been called out. If they failed to appear in time, he advised Monroe to make the best terms he was able. The scout carrying the despatch was killed, and although adroitly concealed within the body of the messenger, the paper was found and given to Montcalm at midnight.[*]

Montcalm thus saw that his chance of success lay in urging on the construction of the batteries, and in bringing the siege to a close. Accordingly he doubled his working parties and by every encouragement he hurried forward the completion of the works. Except for the purposes of scouting, and by their presence causing a dread of savage warfare, the Indians were of no positive use during the siege. According to the statement of de Lévis, they were 1,796 in number, and were commanded by de la Corne Saint-Luc, under the orders of de Rigaud. Of this number 800 had marched with de Lévis. They formed less than a fourth of the troops present, who numbered 7,306.[†]

The Indians embraced many of the nations which a few years previously had been the most troublesome enemies of the French : the Sauteurs, the Renards, the Sakis, the Puants, and other tribes with whom the customs and habits of thought remained unchanged by civilization. The Ottawas, of Detroit,

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[*] "Il [Webb] remit cette lettre à un Sauvage qui fut pris par d'autres et comme ils le tuèrent pour en faire festin, suivant leur usage ils la lui trouvèrent dans le fondement envelopée dans une feuille de plomb et la portèrent à M. de Montcalm." Memoires [1749-1760], p. 97.

[†] Dessieux [p. 292] gives the following detail of the troops present, extracted, as he explains, from long documents :—

Regular troops, 3 brigades		3,081
Militia, 7 "		2,946
Artillery		188
Indians of 33 nations—		
The Christianized Indians	820	
From the upper country	986	
		1,806
Total		8,021

He adds : Deducting the men non effective, and the garrisons left at Carillon, the falls and the head of the carrying-place, the number of fighting men was 5,500, which, with the Indians, would raise the number to 7,306." See also despatch of de Bougainville to M. de Paulmy, 19th August, 1757. [N.Y. Doc., X., p. 607.]

were also present in force, with a few of the Illinois. There were also a small number of the Hurons of Quebec, with 339 of the christian Iroquois of the Sault and of the Two Mountains. There were 301 Abenakis, from Bécancour and Saint Francis. This large force had been called into the field by de Vaudreuil, and the various tribes, however differing in character and unconnected by relationship, had alike answered to the common expectation of reward by plunder and the possession of prisoners.* There cannot be a doubt that the instructions received by Montcalm with regard to this mass of savage life, were embarrassing to him. Their value in regular warfare was their activity as scouts, which was very great, but otherwise during the siege they were a constant source of trouble. Previous to starting from Carillon, Montcalm had called a council, and, while informing them of his intention to advance, did so under the semblance of asking their opinion. He produced a belt of wampum, typical of the union of these several races with the French. It was accepted by the Iroquois, who answered for the fidelity of the remaining nations. They agreed unanimously that the advance should be made also by land.

After the siege had commenced the Indians were desirous that the operations should be carried on as they held expedient. They regarded their duty to consist in firing at the fort, in seizing the chance of shooting down any one exposed. Montcalm consequently called them to a council. He was able to exercise the great influence which he had acquired to obtain a promise to preserve better discipline, if one can hazard the word. He complained that they were neglecting the more useful duty of scouting in order to fire upon the fort, and that the majority remained idle by their canoes. He called upon them to establish themselves by the camp of de Lévis, as they had consented to do, and where they would be useful.

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* In deVaudreuil's instructions [Que. Doc., IV., p. 102] these tribes are specially mentioned as having given their word not to separate until the campaign was finished. De Vaudreuil's expectation was that the surrender of fort Edward would follow that of fort William Henry. "Nous n'en devons pas douter que . . . le fort Lydius n'en soit intimidé au point qu'il ne lui opposera qu'une faible résistance." This success attained, the Indians were to be sent out to ravage and devastate the English settlements at Schenectady and Albany. It was M. de Vaudreuil's theory of the perfection of war.

The Indians had a grievance on their side. They complained that they had not been consulted as to the mode in which the siege should be conducted. They had been ordered to march without consultation with their chiefs. They were quieted by Montcalm's explanations, and received from him additional belts of wampum ; he obtaining their promise that they would join the camp of de Lévis. He read the intercepted letter of Webb to Monroe, and foretold the rapid surrender of the fort, adding that on the morrow the big guns should be heard by them ; an exhibition of power they looked forward to with delight.

During the night of the 5th and 6th the left parallel was pushed forward, and its communication with the right battery established. At six in the morning of the 6th the left battery opened fire with three 18-prs., five 12-prs. and a 9 in. mortar. On the 7th the right battery was advanced 900 feet and unmasked at day break. It consisted of eight guns, two of which were 18-prs., two howitzers, likewise one 6 in. mortar. At six o'clock there was a general discharge from both batteries amid the cries of the Indians. The firing had been continued for three hours when de Bougainville was despatched to the fort as the bearer of Webb's intercepted letter, with the hope that it would determine Monroe's surrender. Montcalm had the tact previously to submit his intention to the Indians, and made them believe that he had taken this step by their recommendation. The letter was courteously acknowledged, but no immediate step followed.

On this day Montcalm received the red ribbon of a commander of the order of Saint Louis. The news of the honour was communicated to the Indians, with the information that it had been obtained by the help of their service. On the right, the works were being pushed forward from their oblique position, so the guns could bear directly on the fort. A swampy piece of ground extending over about 300ft. led to some temporary impediment, and the work was carried on under exposure to fire from the fort; but the difficulty was overcome.

At four o'clock of this day there was a false alarm of an attack from fort Edward. The French troops were rapidly massed in position. The event is worthy of notice to shew, how impossible it would have been for Webb with his small force, to have effected any movement in the field by the single line of communication. He would have been overnumbered four to one, his own column being imperfectly disciplined, and never having been under fire. The movement was the false intelligence of an Indian scout. The result, however, had the effect of establishing with the Indians greater confidence in the French.

On the morning of the 9th the sap had been carried within 233 yards of the western side. For the previous three days the artillery had continued the attack. The cannon of the fort had been diligently worked, but the feeling must have been irresistible, that without the presence of a large force to drive the French from their position, there was no hope for its defenders. They were in a deplorable condition: several men had been killed and more wounded.* Disease had broken out, many of the heavy guns had burst, their two brass mortars were in a useless condition. There were but 17 shells left. Their strength was insufficient to make a sortie to have any effect on the besiegers. On the other hand, the completion of the battery in the last approach opened out the prospect of a heavy cannonade from the enemies' lines, now closely advanced upon them.

A council of war was called, and it was resolved to capitulate. At eight o'clock on the morning of the 9th a white flag was held out, and colonel Young, commanding the detachment of Royal Americans, was sent to arrange the terms of surrender.

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* The number of killed was 41, the wounded 71. N.Y. Doc., X., p. 625. The French killed and wounded were 53. Montcalm to the minister of war, 15th of August, 1757. Que. Doc., IV., p. 115.

The articles granted were that the troops should march out with their arms and the honours of war, with the baggage of the officers and men only. One piece of artillery, a 6-pr., was allowed to be taken from the fort in recognition of the valour with which it had been defended; the place immediately to be given over with the stores, guns and ammunition; the troops to proceed to fort Edward, on parole not to serve for eighteen months. All prisoners made since the commencement of the war, officers, soldiers, Canadians, women and savages, to be delivered at Carillon within three months, as they were delivered an equal number of the garrison on parole to be allowed to serve. The sick and wounded were placed under the protection of Montcalm.

De Bougainville, in his narrative of the siege, states that Montcalm, after having agreed to the terms of capitulation, warned colonel Young that he could not pledge his word for the observance of the conditions, unless accepted by the Indians.* In consequence, he submitted to the leading chiefs the terms he had granted, and the conditions were accepted at a council. De Bougainville was the officer selected to draw up the articles of surrender.

Had the circumstances of Canada permitted, it would have been the fate of the garrison to be marched as prisoners to Montreal. Their surrender was complete, and in their situation there was only open to them the desperate alternative of refusing to give or take quarter, to exact better terms. It was however, simply impossible to find food for them. There is a letter from Bigot† which sets forth that it was the wisest resolution not to make the garrison prisoners of war: "we could not feed them." He adds that the same want of provisions justified the non attack of fort Edward; for the longer detention of the Canadian *habitants* would have led to the loss of the harvest, and he could not have found subsistence for the troops after August. At that date the inhabitants of Quebec were limited to a ration of a quarter of a pound of bread a day, and there was general scarcity throughout the colony.

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* Dessieux, p. 305.

† N.Y. Doc., X., p. 631.

Hitherto the Indians had been restrained from the use of liquor ; indeed neither wine nor spirits had been served out to any part of the force. De Bougainville tells us that previously to returning to the trenches he exercised great care in the destruction of all the strong drink in the fort, before the garrison marched out. The evacuation took place at noon of the 9th, the British troops proceeding to the entrenched camp. A French detachment was likewise present as a protection against interference on the part of the Indians. De Bourlamaque, with the force from the trenches, took possession of the fort. He placed sentries at the magazines and the provision stores ; the fort was otherwise given over to pillage.

The scene which followed on the succeeding day is one of the best remembered in the history of the continent. The event was early placed on record.* It has frequently been related, and often with exaggeration : the facts, however, in their plain truth, can in no way be gainsaid. Some French writers endeavour to explain them away, and bring forward as an argument the folly of the British soldiery in giving rum from their canteens to the Indians in the hope of appeasing them. They also dwell upon the cowardice of the troops in submitting patiently to the Indian attack, affirming that they were seized with a panic to be incapable of offering resistance. The British amounted to 2,260 of all ranks, with several women and children. They were without ammunition. The king's regiment, the 35th, was alone armed with bayonets. The records of the siege show the self-assertion with which the Indians forced themselves upon the attention of Montcalm. There were present under his command 3,000 regular troops and 2,500 Canadian militia. There were 1,800 Indians. These figures show what power Montcalm had at his disposal to restrain the Indians in any attempt at aggressiveness, of which he disapproved.

I would gladly, if I could, acquit Montcalm of blame on this occasion; it appears to me impossible to do so. De Lévis, de Bourlamaque, de Bougainville, de Sénezergue and men of this calibre could have but one feeling of what was incumbent upon a French officer under such circumstances. The Canadians had been bred, with the tradition of allowing at the hour of victory full sway to the bloody instincts of the Indian. Those who read in these volumes the narrative when inroads were made upon the settlements of New England by the Abenakis, will have difficulty in adducing many instances when, through the intervention of the partizan leaders, the fury of their Indian allies was stayed, or mercy shewn. The chief motive of the savage in joining an expedition, even when his passions were excited by the appeals made to them, lay in the hope of plunder. De Rigaud, who was in command of the Indian force, had complained of the restriction against this license which had been exercised at Oswego. Men of the stamp of de la Corne Saint-Luc, Marin, Langlade, de Longueuil, de Niverville and de Langy knew no other policy, than that the savage had to be conciliated by the reward he claimed. He could only be kept true to French interests by the gratification of his instincts for blood, plunder and prisoners. It had been the law and practice for nearly a century, and the emergency which sanctioned it in their view was as strong as ever.

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* Smollett has described it, Chap. XXVII., 19. (1763-1765.)

The fort had been plundered, but the intrenched camp was as yet untouched. Early on the morning of the 10th of August, when the days are longest, the motley tribes of savages crowded round the eminence on which the fortifications had been thrown up. They found the British, in accordance with the capitulation, preparing to march to fort Edward. They feared the booty, which they looked upon as their right, would escape them. There were seventeen wounded men in the hospital, belonging to the Massachusetts regiment. They had been placed under the protection of a French surgeon, who had then left them, and his place had been taken by the surgeon of the regiment. The French sentries which had been posted had been removed. The Indians forced their way into the sick ward, dragged the men from their beds, killed and scalped them.* The French troops, drawn up in line, were not forty rods distant, and there was no attempt to protect or save the unfortunate men thus murdered. It was the commencement of a general plundering of the troops drawn up to march out of the intrenchment. Some of the French officers counselled that the demands of the Indians should be met, and the articles they asked for should be given up in order to appease them. The advice in some instances was acted upon. Nevertheless, the uproar continued, and the unsatisfied rapacity of the savages led them to be more clamorous. The duty of the French officers was exceedingly plain, to have marched a body of men of sufficient strength to prevent interference with the troops of the captured garrison by the savages, whose instincts they knew. The British troops were unarmed, and if in their desperation there had been an attempt at resistance the Canadian force would have come to the rescue of the Indian ; all opposition would have been overpowered, and the probability is that a fearful massacre would have followed. The numbers against the British would have been in the proportion of two to one : an armed body of men against disarmed troops. The taunt of cowardice made by some French writers is unpardonable, and may be taken as the fullest proof of the weakness of their case. We have only the statements of the French that rum was given to the Indian by the soldiers. It is not so stated by any British authority. It is not impossible that a great quantity of spirits was found at the plunder of the fort. The seizure of much of the baggage doubtless included the possession of the canteens, and as the Indian drinks, drunkenness would be the immediate consequence.

The column left the intrenchment. As it marched out the Indians rushed upon the rear ranks, took from officers and men all they could lay their hands on, stripping them of their dress and accoutrements. The women and children were seized before the faces of the French escort. Many were killed. Those of the troops who in any way resisted were tomahawked: it is not possible to mention the exact number; but de Lévis speaks of some fifty as being so slain.* Webb, while relating that there was an escort of three hundred men, deliberately expressed the opinion that the attack was connived at by the French.† The rear of the column thus assaulted, broke and ran in upon the front; and the whole became affected by the panic and took refuge in flight. In the midst of the confusion a war-whoop was heard from the Abenakis from Penobscot. It was afterwards pretended that they were smarting from a wrong lately committed on their tribe, and they only retaliated the injury they had suffered. Even if this were the case, it was not the time, nor the occasion when revenge could be taken. The New Hampshire men in rear of the column were the first to sustain the onslaught, during which the escort made no effort at repression. There was no attempt to check the atrocities. The interpreters are accused by a French writer of inciting ‡ the Indians to acts of violence, and to seize the property of the disarmed garrison. The Indians acted with great ferocity against the negroes, mulattoes and Indians in the British ranks and immediately killed and scalped them. § They stripped and robbed the white men; where they experienced resistance their victim was struck down. At the commencement of the commotion a report of the proceedings of the Indians was carried to Montcalm by colonel Monroe, and complained of as a breach of the capitulation. De Lévis had already come upon the ground with some troops and with his officers endeavoured to check the outrage. Appealed to by Monroe, Montcalm appeared upon the scene, and threats, entreaties and force were made use of by him in his effort to quiet the tumult. The Indians had by this time seized many prisoners as their prey. Montcalm unhesitatingly intervened and demanded their release. It only proves the difficulties of his position that he felt himself forced to offer to pay a ransom in money for them. The whole number of such prisoners within his influence were afterwards redeemed and sent to fort Edward with a proper escort. They amounted to 400 in number; about 200, however, were carried by the Indians to Montreal as prisoners, and were similarly obtained by de Vaudreuil; these were also ransomed, and were eventually sent to Halifax. De Vaudreuil was, nevertheless, an apologist of what took place, and in his letter to France contended that the terms of the capitulation had been fully observed. He explained that the excesses of the Indians, could be attributed to their having got drunk the preceding night from the rum furnished by the English. While throwing the blame upon the Abenakis, he explained the uncontrollable rage which they had felt, as a natural consequence of the bad treatment they had lately experienced. De Vaudreuil even advanced the doctrine that the prisoners taken at the time of Parker's defeat on lake George were the legitimate spoil of the savage by the laws of war, and he claimed credit for obtaining their release, as he acted with regard to those seized after the capitulation.

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* Affidavit of Miles Whiteworth, surgeon of the Massachusetts regiment, 17th of October, 1757.

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* "Il y eut une cinquantaine de chevelures levées." De Lévis' Journal, p. 102.

† They were stripped by the Indians of everything they had, both Officers and Men, the Women and Children drag'd from among them, and most inhumanly butchered before their faces: the party of about three hundred men which was given them as an escort were during the time quietly looking on. From this and other circumstances we are too well convinced these barbarities must have been connived at by the French. After having destroyed the women and children they fell upon the rear of our men, who, running in upon the front, soon put the whole to a most precipitate flight, in which confusion most of them came into this camp about two o'clock yesterday morning, in a most distressing situation, and have continued dropping in ever since. Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I, vol. 85.2, p. 401.

‡ Pouchot, II., p. 89.

§ Que. Doc., IV., p. 120.

The broken fugitives reached fort Edward, in the majority of cases stripped of all they wore. As the alarm was given by the arrival of those who first reached the fort, Webb ordered out 500 men as a covering party to protect them as they arrived.

Montcalm, as the general in command, could not but see how the terms granted by him had been infringed, and the possibility of the repudiation by the British authorities of the obligations on which the surrender had been accepted. When awoke to the gravity of the situation, he acted with courage, decision and humanity. He cannot, however, be absolved from the gravity of the charge of not preventing the possibility of such a wanton outrage, not only of the laws of war, but of the dictates of humanity. The facts suggest the predetermination that a certain latitude should be allowed the Indians in the seizure of booty. It was not foreseen that their pursuit of plunder would degenerate into personal violence, murder, and the seizure of prisoners as slaves. It was then that the true instincts of Montcalm suggested all the future complications which would arise, and the whole strength of his character was exerted to stamp out the disorder.

After their onslaught on the troops, the Indians left for their homes. The French remained behind to raze the fort to the ground, and to burn all they could not otherwise destroy. The guns, stores and provisions were carried to Montreal. Montcalm described the provisions captured as sufficient to subsist 6,000 men for six weeks. Thus fort William Henry for ever ceased to be a threat to French Canada.

Before the close of the year a further gleam of success was reflected upon the French army, obtained in the war of surprise which so long desolated the outlying settlements of New England. On the 20th of October de Vaudreuil gathered a force at Lachine, consisting of 100 Canadians with 10 officers, and 200 Sault and Mountain Indians, under the orders of de Bellaitre, of the marine force.* They ascended the Saint Lawrence to La Presentation,† where de Bellaitre increased his force from the Indians of the mission. He continued the ascent of the river to "la Famine"‡ on lake Ontario, a few miles east of Oswego. As we read the details of the enterprise, we seem to be speaking of the events seventy years earlier, in the days of de la Barre or de Denonville. De Bellaitre ascended Salmon river as far as was expedient, some ten miles. Leaving his canoes under a guard, he crossed to the *portage* between the Mohawk and lake Oneida ; by the route he followed some seventy miles. On reaching the site of fort Williams, destroyed the previous year by Webb, he sent messages to the Six Nations in the neighbourhood, and was joined by some Oneidas. It was then resolved to attack the settlement of the Palatines on the Mohawk, some thirty miles lower down. It had been established under the authority of Burnet when governor in 1720,* and consisted of 30 houses with 300 inhabitants.† De Bellaitre arrived there at the break of day on the 11th of November, and attacked the village from three different points. The surprise was complete. There was little resistance, and those making any attempt to repel the French were overpowered by numbers and killed.‡ The houses and barns were burned, and the cattle of all descriptions killed ; 102 prisoners, mostly women and children, were carried to Montreal, among them the mayor of the place. The men who escaped made their way to fort Herkimer, about three miles distant on the right bank of the Mohawk. There was a garrison here of 200 men, under captain Townshend. On the alarm being given a detachment of fifty men was despatched to the scene of action, insufficient in strength to attack the Canadian force, which outnumbered them six-fold. The contest was accordingly confined to a fusillade, and at the end of twenty-four hours de Bellaitre returned to his canoes, his force enriched with booty. He arrived at Montreal on the 20th of November.

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* De Lévis in his journal [p. 106] is careful in relating that the expedition was organized by the governor-general. He alludes to the event in the coldest language, as if to shew his disapproval of the enterprise.

† Ogdensburgh.

‡ Salmon River.

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* N.Y. Doc., V., p. 634.

† De Lévis' Journal, p. 108.

‡ De Vaudreuil made an exaggerated report of the "damage inflicted upon the enemy." More grain, he said, had been destroyed than the island of Montreal produced in years of abundance, with 3,000 horned cattle and 3,000 sheep. At the same time, he describes the settlement as consisting of sixty houses. He speaks of the attack of five forts, which surrendered at discretion. The number killed and drowned he named at forty. We also learn from him that the strength of the detachment sent from fort Herkimer was fifty men. Before the houses were burned they were pillaged by the Indians, who "acquired as rich a booty as they could carry off." N.Y. Doc., X., 673.

The news reached Schenectady on the 12th, where lord Howe was stationed. He immediately advanced with the 42nd Highlanders to fort Herkimer. The enemy, however, had disappeared, having retreated several hours previously, leaving the trace of their presence in the burned houses, the slaughtered cattle, with the other evidences of the desolation they had committed, the most painful of which were the dead bodies of those killed in the onslaught.

Lord Howe left 100 men at Conajoharie and 100 men at fort Hunter * and returned to Schenectady.†

The year 1757 closed in gloom and dissatisfaction ; it was the nadir of British failure in these years of contest. The provincial had lost faith in the power of the mother country, and cheaply held the prowess of the imperial troops. Politically he was jealous of interference, and the spirit of independence suggested the belief and confidence that the strength of the provinces, unaided, was capable of effecting the conquest of Canada.‡ The refusal to provide quarters for the troops at

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* At the junction of Schoharie creek with the Mohawk, 31 miles from Schenectady.

† Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., vol. 86.1, p. 3.

‡ The discontented feeling in the British provinces was known in Canada. De Lévis wrote to the king of Poland [23rd October, 1757, letters, p. 179.] that the failure to attack Louisbourg had caused great dissatisfaction in the colonies. The colonists were tired of the war and unwillingly submitted to the taxation which it had made necessary. "This," he added, "caused a ferment in their minds. For some time all the colonies have not been satisfied with the English parliament ; they desire one which would be independent." De Lévis did not express a high opinion of the provincial troops. On the 4th of September he wrote to marshal de Mirepoix from the camp at Carillon : "if we had not to do with weak and timid troops we would be unable to congratulate ourselves on the success we have met. [Letters, p. 136.] "Chouaguen was taken by the intervention of the Holy Ghost, as we have just taken fort George, and heaven grant that our good fortune does not abandon us if the war continue." [p. 142.] Again he writes [p. 165] "we have been fortunate in having to do with timid troops, and unskilful generals." On the 24th of September he wrote from Montreal : "the English behave very badly in this country ; it is much to be wished that they would do the same in Europe," [p. 170] and this was written within less than two years of the capitulation of Quebec.

New York and Boston furnishes testimony of the indifference felt as to the presence of the British soldier. A low standard had penetrated into the legislatures. In nearly all directions the spirit of gain was dominant to overpower the call of patriotism and duty. Braddock's disaster had destroyed faith in British generalship. The destruction of Oswego, whether caused or not caused by want of prudence and prevision, was in reality only attributable to the action of the provinces. The 50th and 51st regiments, although on the imperial roster, had been raised in America, and were officered by colonists. In spite of these facts, Abercrombie and Webb, in the public view, had been held responsible for the calamity, and although Loudoun only landed in New York a few days before the capture, he was equally held responsible for it. The provinces refused their quota of men, or furnished them under theories of limited service, which made the troops difficult of control in the field. Whatever professions were made of the desire to help the cause, the jealousy of the legislatures paralyzed the support nominally given. One serious cause for dissatisfaction was the supplies sold to the enemy. Canada was in dire condition for want of provisions, and the trade was one highly profitable. In vain the legislatures made enactments to repress the traffic, but the frequent allusion to its prevalence shows how ineffectually they were enforced.

The raid of Bellaitre in October was the last success of the French. From that date one series of reverses was experienced in Canada. The failure of Abercrombie at Ticonderoga cannot be called an exception. From the British standing-point it must always be looked upon as deplorable, from the bad generalship which was the cause of the failure, but it brought with it no disgrace. The French, as they drew their breath at nightfall of that terrible day, must have seen that their safety had depended on an error of their antagonist, not to be repeated; the want of knowledge of the strength of *abatis*, fortifications of massive fallen trees against an attack at the bayonet's point. It was this miscalculation of power which had saved them from destruction. The attack had been intrepid and fearless, as the corpses of the hundreds of dead proved, and, although repelled, there was no loss of honour on the side of the assailants. The French soldier had been made to feel the presence of the race against which his ancestors had contended from the days of Creçy and Poictiers; he had once more experienced the ancient disdain of hardship, with the calm, determined, undemonstrative courage, and the self-reliance under disaster which for so many centuries have never been wanting in the national character. The repulse of the British force could have appeared only as a temporary relief. Such indeed it proved. Step by step the French were driven from every stronghold they possessed, until further effort on their part became impossible. It was then that the American provincial learned truly to know and appreciate all that he owed to the mother country. It is a painful record in the history of the American continent that the service and the aid were soon to be forgotten by those who most profited by them.

CHAPTER V.

The winter of 1757-58 was one of much privation in Canada; there was so great a scarcity of provisions that positive want was felt. The ration of bread was limited, and horse-flesh had to be eaten. As the season for active operations closed, the troops went into winter quarters at Boucherville, Ile Jesus, Montreal, Point aux Trembles and Quebec. Garrisons were left at Carillon, Crown Point, Saint John's and Chambly. The two last years had been signally fortunate for the French: the British forts, Oswego and William Henry, which had threatened their power and their commerce on lake Ontario and lake Champlain, had been destroyed; the attack on Louisbourg, which had appeared to be imminent, had not been attempted; the possession of the Ohio by France was to all appearance firmly established; Indians, led by Canadian officers, had continually devastated the outlying villages of Pennsylvania and Virginia and had driven back settlement in these provinces. The whole of the western Indians had accepted Canadian authority, while the province had so far impressed her ancient enemies, the Iroquois, that a strong feeling had arisen in the Six Nations of the advisability of remaining neutral in any contest with the British, while many professed readiness to embrace the cause of the French. In the middle of October * some of their chiefs arrived at Montreal to congratulate de Vaudreuil on his success at William Henry, to give assurance of neutrality, and without entering into any engagements, to suggest the possibility that hereafter they might range themselves on the side of the French. De Vaudreuil was then at Quebec, engaged, as president of the court, examining into the conduct of de Vergor

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* Journal de Lévis, p. 110.

at Beauséjour; they were received by Duplessis, and no effort was spared to conciliate them.*

In November the pressure arising from the want of provisions exacted a reduction of the rations of the troops.†

The regiment of Béarn made no complaint. On the other hand, the marine regiment refused to accept the rations on the new basis, and when called together to receive them, separated without taking them away. De Lévis heard from Duplessis of the proceeding, with the intimation that the troops had been ordered to parade in the intendant's courtyard. When they had assembled they re-commenced the expression of their dissatisfaction. Accompanied by some officers, de Lévis went to the spot. He found the troops disorderly in groups, and violent in their language. He imposed silence, and caused them to form in rank, when he stated the necessity of submitting to the conditions imposed. He pointed out that the land troops had accepted the ration, and he told them he would hang the first man who demurred to receiving it. He ordered the first company to take their allotted portion. The men acted in compliance without a murmur. The remaining companies similarly obeyed. They even strove to explain away their conduct by stating that proper representations on the subject had not been made to them. De Lévis accepted their excuses, but threatened mercilessly to punish any future contumaciousness.

Shortly afterwards the marine troops with some *habitants* endeavoured to incite the regiment of Béarn to revolt. De Lévis ordered four of the grenadiers of that regiment to appear before him, when he pointed out the necessity of compliance, and the trouble passed away.

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* The writer of the "*Mémoire sur le Canada*" [p. 97] unfavourably notices the partiality of de Vaudreuil for the Indians, and the license he granted them: "il leur permettoit tout,—qualité qu'il avoit heritée de son père, comme de les croire absolument nécessaires; on les voyoit courir dans Montréal, le couteau à la main, menacer un chacun et souvent faire des insultes; lorsqu'on s'en plaignoit il n'en disoit rien; bien loin après ce coup [the affair at William Henry], au lieu de leur avoir fait des reproches, et de leur en avoir fait sentir les inconvéniens il les accabla de présens dans la persuasion qu'il étoit que [si] leur crualité seroit ralentie les desseins des ennemies [gagneroit de la force]."

† Half a lb. of bread; three-quarters of a lb. of beef; a quarter of a lb. of codfish; a quarter of a lb. of peas with ½ a lb. of bread payable in money.

As the winter advanced the quarter of a pound of bread served daily to the people as a ration was stopped. It was proposed to give in its place half beef and half horse-flesh, at six *sous* the pound. There was great objection to the horse-flesh, the people refusing to take it. A number of women assembled, and tumultuously proceeded to the house of de Vaudreuil, demanding to see him. Four of the number were admitted, and they asked for bread. De Vaudreuil replied that he had none to give them : he had been obliged to reduce the rations of the troops. It was not the king's duty to furnish bread for the people : they were bound to provide it themselves. But in their want the king had assisted them with bread and horse-flesh. The women expressed great repugnance to such food. The horse was the friend of man, and their religion forbade them to kill him ; they would rather die than feed upon him. De Vaudreuil replied that this was all imagination. From bygone time the horse had been eaten, and it was the only assistance he could give. He sent the women away with the threat that if they made any revolt he would put them in prison and hang the half of them.* He ordered the commissioner of marine, de Martel, and the judge of police, de Monrepos, to take them to the slaughter-house, and to see that the food was of good quality. The women consented to go. They said, however, that neither they nor anybody else, not even the troops, should eat the horse-flesh. As they were separating they used the most violent and seditious language. De Lévis, in recording the fact, says several ought to have been arrested, which was not done.

Early in December orders were given for rations of horse-flesh to be served out to the troops ; they refused to receive them and left the place of distribution. De Lévis reproved the officers for allowing the men to disperse ; the latter excused themselves on the ground of the cold weather, and further, that the meat had not been prepared for distribution. De Lévis ordered a parade, and on the assembly of the regiment he caused a ration of the horse-flesh to be cut for himself, which he directed his servant to carry to his quarters. The grenadiers were then ordered to advance to take their mess. They desired to make some representation ; De Lévis firmly answered, that the first man who hesitated to obey in receiving the food prescribed, he would arrest and hang. When the distribution had been made, he would listen to all that they had to say. The grenadiers in silence received the horse-flesh ; their example was followed by the other companies.

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* "Qu'il en feroit pendre la moitié." Journal de Lévis, p. 119.

De Lévis then advanced and told the men he would listen to any expression of their grievances. The men accordingly stated that they had complained of having to eat horse-flesh, as the people had refused it, and they could not believe that the colony was reduced to this necessity, when they saw the number of cattle brought to market. Moreover, they were billeted singly upon the inhabitants, and were not permitted to form themselves into messes of seven, and the ration cooked singly was not enough for a man. The regiment of la Sarre, at Quebec, being in barracks, was differently situated ; the *habitants* themselves lived as well as ever, even their negroes and *païns** did the same. It was now the duty of de Lévis to reply to what had been said, and on no occasion of his life were his judgment and ability more apparent. It was a critical hour, when it was necessary to extinguish the spirit which had been called forth, without leaving behind any rancour to re-awaken it. His personal character gave weight to all he would say ; but while exercising his authority he had to appeal to that spirit of *camaraderie* which is the true basis of the confidence of the soldier in his general. No one could have done so more effectively, as the result proved, and on all sides de Lévis obtained the highest praise for his conduct.†

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* Slaves of the Indian tribes taken and sold in Montreal.

† It will generally be found, both in the army and navy, in cases of widely spread dissatisfaction, which finds its vent in desertion, that the fault lies in the unsympathetic, hard character of the commander, who, from a mistaken sense of duty, exacts from the soldier or sailor what is unnecessary and unreasonable ; in itself

On the point of the *habitant* refusing the horse-flesh, de Lévis attributed his conduct to prejudice and weakness. The French garrison had eaten it in Prague: it was a similar case of necessity in Canada, as most of the provisions sent from France had been seized by English cruisers. They were in error as to the condition of the colony, for there was great distress everywhere. The people of Quebec had no bread; there were 2,000 Acadians who had nothing to eat but horse-flesh and codfish; the officers of the garrison at Montreal and Quebec had only a quarter of a pound of bread a day; the cattle which the soldiers had seen slaughtered had been brought to market, in accordance with the custom of the country at that period of the year, when the inhabitants killed the cattle; the meat was kept frozen and was so sold during winter. The soldiers had equal opportunity of purchasing it, and he would give instructions for money to be advanced of their pay, to be used for this purpose. He would do his best, so that they would be able to form themselves into messes. He added some words, that the soldier ought to believe that the general would do his best for them; and he looked to the regiment to shew an example of good conduct. The men were touched by this kindly and straightforward admonition; and while they expressed themselves satisfied, they assured their general, that they would so act that no reproach should be made against them; they had full confidence that everything possible would be done for them, now that de Lévis knew their wants. As the land troops took the horse-flesh, the marine troops also received it, and no more trouble was experienced.

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repugnant to the feelings of the men. To what is necessary and essential, however trying, men will cheerfully submit. There is always to be found in a ship or a regiment a sufficient number possessing right feeling, who will uncomplainingly bear unavoidable privations, and they have the moral strength to control the contumacious. When we read of a common insensibility to the obligations of duty, and of men abandoning their colours as opportunity offers, as a rule we may conclude that the whole blame does not lie entirely with them, and a stern explanation should be exacted from the commanding officer. De Lévis' behaviour on this occasion, as it received the full recognition of his contemporaries, should find a place in every modern military manual.

De Lévis further met the desires of the regiment by orders being issued so that the men could be formed into messes of eight, and an additional allowance of eight *livres* a month was given to the *habitant* at whose house the mess was held. On the day "*les rois*,"[*] 1758, eight grenadiers of the regiment of Béarn waited upon de Lévis with a dish of horse-flesh as they cooked it at their mess. De Lévis received it, and in return invited them to breakfast, to shew them how his cook prepared the meat. Wine was furnished, and the *plat* discussed : it was generally pronounced inferior to the cooking of the soldiers. De Lévis presented the company with four louis to drink his health and pleasantly to pass "les rois."

The condition of Canada was reported to France in a despatch sent overland to Louisbourg.[†] The bearer had previously arrived with letters from that fortress, and had probably made his way by the Saint John. The letter of de Vaudreuil does not appear ; that of Montcalm to M. de Moras of the 19th of February is in all respects worthy of remark.[‡]

He protests against the misrepresentations made with regard to his own conduct and that of the French officers in Canada, informing the minister that he had not communicated his letter to them owing to the great pain it would cause. The statement had been made by persons as bad-intentioned as they were ill-informed. He appealed to de Vaudreuil, it was he who had made the accusation, and to Bigot in testimony of his conduct, He thought that he had seized the genius and the moral qualities of the Indians; but they looked upon a commander-in-chief as they regard the chief of a wigwam. No one rendered more justice to Canadian valour than he and the French; but a nation accustomed to self-praise would in vain magnify itself. "I will never," adds Montcalm, "possess the unfortunate confidence of M. Dieskau. I will employ them as they are best fitted, and I will strive to sustain their courage by making use of the woods and the regular troops." Montcalm could not conceal his misgivings of the next campaign. He could announce he said nothing concerning it. "The operations will depend on the prompt arrival of food, and on the good or bad conduct of the enemy. The question of food causes me to shudder. In spite of the reduced rations, our want is greater than we could believe." He pays a high compliment to Bigot. He described the officers as greatly suffering, receiving only paper currency. Their pay was decreasing, while everything was becoming dearer. The lieutenants could not live on their allowances. They were unlike the troops of the country, the officers of the latter being permitted to trade, and who made money in their expeditions with the Indians. He pointed out that the expenses incurred in the performance of his duty were involving him in debt. Bigot had allowed him to obtain 12,000 *livres* to meet his obligations, and the further he should go the more he would owe.* He had no illusions with regard to *la petite guerre.* Although it was the fashion of the country always to speak of having carried forts sword in hand, the intrinsic value was the surprise, the burning, the pillage of a large village exposed on all sides. In spite of the bright view which Montcalm endeavoured to take, it is plain that he was impressed with a sense of the danger with which the province was threatened, and that more depended on the ability with which the attack against Canada would be directed, than on its power of resistance.

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[*] The English twelfth-night.

[†] De Lévis' Journal, p. 127.

[‡] It is given by Dessieux, p. 321, and is translated in N. Y. Doc., X., p. 686. Montcalm shews how deeply he was hurt by the unfriendly statements made regarding him in France. He says, "vous m'exaltez la valeur des Canadiens, vous m'y donnez des leçons sur la conduite à tenir vis-à-vis d'eux et des sauvages." I append the original text of some of the passages which I have translated.

. "une nation accoutumée à se vanter aura beau s'exalter elle-même, je n'aurai jamais la malheureuse confiance de M. Dieskau ; je ne les emploierai que dans leur genre, et je chercherai à étayer leur bravoure de l'avantage des bois et de celle des troupes réglées ; . . Je ne puis vous rien annoncer encore sur la campagne prochaine ; les opérations dépendront de la prompte arrivée des vivres et du bien ou mal joué de l'ennemi. L'article des vivres me fait frémir. Malgré les réductions faites sur la ration, la disette est plus grande que nous ne l'aurions cru."

The war indeed had disastrously affected the province in all directions. Its commerce had been almost destroyed. We learn from a writer of a few years subsequently,* that it was usual to insure a cargo in time of peace. Those who took this precaution paid from three to four per cent.; the freight cost from fifty to eighty *livres* the ton. In war time the assurance rose to twenty-five per cent.; the freight to two hundred *livres* the ton, and eventually reached the price of one thousand *livres*. Consequently all merchandise became immensely advanced in cost; and the price of provisions, independently of any scarcity, rose in proportion. From the circumstances that a large number of the male population was called out to serve in the army, the cultivation of the land was much reduced. Even in the matter of a cord of wood, which in quiet times cost 50 *sols*, or three or four *livres*, it now rose to ten *livres*.†

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* "Et plus j'irai, plus je lui devrai."

One cause of difficulty was traceable to the specie sent out from France in 1755 for the pay of the land troops. When purchases were made by the latter in the market, silver was tendered, and owing to the depreciation of the card money the men refused to take it in change. The effect was a greater decrease in its current value, reaching half the face amount. Thus, a pair of chickens which cost from 15 to 20 *sols* in silver fetched from 30 to 35 in paper: a pair of shoes worth 4 *livres*, 10 *sols* in silver cost 10 *livres* in paper. What added to the cost was the constant capture of the vessels by the English cruisers. It is said that three-fourths of them were taken.‡ It was calculated that a cask of wine worth 50 *livres* in France cost in Canada 277 *livres*, and would be sold at Montreal in silver for 300 *livres*. The *velte* of *eau-de-vie* fetched 200 *livres*, being at the rate of 25 *livres*, a pound sterling, the pint: a hat worth 2 *livres* in France was sold in Canada from 40 to 50 *livres*, and everything in proportion. Subsequently the troops were paid in paper, an arrangement by which they suffered great loss.

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* "Reflexions sommaires sur le commerce qui s'est fait en Canada." Lit. and Hist. Soc., Quebec, 1840.

† The cord is a superficies of piled wood 4 feet in length, of 32 square feet; in other words, 8 feet long, 4 feet high, French measure.

‡ "Les trois quarts de navires qui étaient partis de différents ports furent pris."

One of the events of the autumn was that de Vergor and de Villerai were placed under arrest to answer for the surrender of the two forts, Beauséjour and Gasperau. De Vaudreuil had been ordered the preceding year to take this course, but the influence of Bigot had stayed proceedings. The instructions having been reiterated, a court of inquiry was appointed, and both were submitted to interrogatories. De Vergor answered with little ability, but there was no desire in Canada to push matters to extremity. Witnesses favourable to him were only called; and he was privately counselled as to the tone of his defence. De Villerai, on his examination, gave in a memoir. As it was considered to reflect on de Vergor, it was pointed out to de Villerai that his own position depended on that of de Vergor, and he was counselled to modify his statement.* When before the court de Vergor threw the blame of his surrender on the Acadians. Montcalm, in reporting the proceedings to France, represented that the Acadians had forced the commander to capitulate to save their lives, having taken the oath of allegiance to the English, who had threatened to hang them for violating it.

On his return to Quebec after the surrender, de Vergor had spoken of the gallantry of his own defence, and had used deprecatory language with regard to the conduct of de Villerai. De Villerai, in his statement, had instituted a comparison between the two forts. Gasperau was merely an enclosure flanked by four half-rotten blockhouses with twenty men, and had he obtained better terms than de Vergor, he would have gained a reputation by which the latter would have suffered.† The military wits of the day called the attack of Beauséjour "*le siége de velours.*" ‡ The defenders slept peaceably by night, and the enemy were not even at watch in the morning. So few shots were fired, that the English were considered not to be in earnest, and de

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* Memoire sur le Canada, p. 100.

† N.Y. Doc., X., p. 671.

‡ What gives point to the French *calembour* is the double meaning of the expression, that it is likewise "a seat of velvet:" a position only of comfort.

Vergor's care of the provisions was explained by the fact that he had sold them to the enemy. No sorties were made ; the place, in short, was badly defended. De Vergor was, at the same time, accused of carrying away a large sum of money ; it was said he even became rich.

The court exonerated both officers and they were declared not guilty of any breach of duty. So far as de Vergor was concerned the decision did not command the assent of contemporary writers ; it was however reported to France sustained by the governor and intendant and there accepted.

Whether or not the privations which were afflicting Canada, led the speculators who were becoming rich in the distress of the province, to think seriously of their own position, it was at this date that several of them resigned their offices and left the colony. Estèbe, who had been in charge of the king's magazine at Quebec, and was, moreover, a member of the *Conseil Supérieur*, resigned both offices, and with a large fortune returned to France. His place was given to Clavery,* who had been the manager of "la friponne ;" he died within eight months of his promotion. Varin, who had for some time applied for leave to retire, finally obtained it, and left the province.

When Bréard ceased to be controller of marine no successor was appointed. The duties were performed by the brother of Martel, who had been assigned the position of Varin. One de Villiers was named to act as controller. He is represented as being insatiable in the pursuit of money, false, and of bad faith. No one was ready with more specious explanations. His conduct and morals were equally as objectionable as his perverted ability ; he deceived both the intendant and the public, and he boldly carried on his frauds in all directions.

Bigot himself was anxious to leave the sinking ship with the immense sums of money he had accumulated, and he appears to have been desirous that all who had similarly obtained wealth should not remain behind. Péan was the first to leave the colony, on the plea of ill health. He did not entirely abandon his connection with Canada, being appointed to the duty of despatching in spring the ships charged with merchandise and provisions: a position which enabled him to include, free of freight, much of the private ventures sent out. Bigot, however, could not accomplish his purpose; the crisis through which the province was passing made his presence indispensable, and he was forced to remain in Canada to give his help in the emergency.

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* Ante, vol. III., p. 545.

At the western posts, where merchandise was furnished to the tribes, a convenient explanation for much additional expense was found in the necessity of retaining the Indians as allies. Their services were greatly extolled in France, and it was argued that unless they were in all respects satisfied, they would cease to take the field. The commandants were not slow in taking advantage of the difficulties attendant on this relationship to advance their own interests. De Bellaitre at Detroit, de Vergor at fort Machault,* and le Verrier at Michillimackinac were distinguished by their rapacity. The last was the step-son of de Vaudreuil, who had married his mother. He was without courage or conduct, and he had been sent there to make his fortune. It is said of him, that on one occasion,† that he gave a certificate for 10,000 *livres* in the place of 10 *livres*, and on its being paid he became more energetic in pursuit of the wealth of which he was in search.

The war of outposts continued. On the part of the French de Langy-Montégron, with a strong force, hovered about fort Edward. On one occasion he surprised some woodcutters attended by a guard. From time to time he repeated his incursions. On the British side, Rogers with his rangers was an active assailant in the hope of obtaining prisoners, from whom information could be obtained. On one occasion he was despatched on an expedition which proved disastrous. He was detached from fort Edward by Haviland, he complains in his journal, with too weak a force. It consisted of 9 officers and 162 men. He was joined by two officers of the 27th as volunteers, captain Pringle and lieutenant Roche. They started on the 12th of March, and descended lake George to within a short distance of Carillon, when, as was the custom, the detachment left the lake to make a circuit round the French fort. The mark of the snow-shoes on their trail was seen by some Indians, who immediately communicated the fact to the commandant. There were two hundred Canadians and Indians at Carillon, under the command of de Langy and de le Durantaye. To this number was joined some volunteers from the regiments la Sarre and Languedoc, and this constituted the force immediately started to intercept the British rangers. The advance guard of Indians unexpectedly came upon Rogers' party. They were received by a heavy fire, killing three Indians. The remainder were driven back, and being hotly pursued by the British, retreated upon the main body. Warned by the firing in front, the force was prepared for an attack, and as the rangers came up they were met by a general discharge of musketry from the French, by which fifty of Rogers' men were killed and placed *hors de combat.* Rogers rapidly saw the odds against him, and he retreated, taking his position upon ascending ground. There he fought desperately until dusk, his numbers greatly reduced, when those that remained fled. Rogers records his loss at 128 killed, wounded and prisoners. De Lévis names the French loss at 12 Indians killed and 18 wounded. The French bivouacked on the ground, in the morning taking to Carillon the prisoners and wounded. Rogers estimated the French as 700 in number, evidently an exaggeration. There were certainly between 300 and 400, so that Rogers was outnumbered by more than two to one. Pringle and Roche, in the retreat, got separated from Rogers' men, and owing to the want of knowledge of the guide who undertook to lead them, lost their way. They wandered about in a state of starvation for several days. On the sixth day they found themselves within sight of the French fort in Carillon, where they surrendered themselves to the French officers, who treated them with great kindness.*

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* At the mouth of French creek and the river Alleghany.

† Mémoire sur le Canada, p. 105.

The letters of de Lévis † establish that it was known in Canada that an attack upon Louisbourg would take place early in the spring. Judging from the success of the two previous years, the French anticipated that the troops would again be removed from northern New York, and that in consequence they would be able to direct an important expedition against Albany. They possessed undisputed mastery over lake Champlain and lake George; with reinforcements from France, and a sufficient supply of provisions, for the latter could not be furnished by the colony, there was every prospect of France being able to seize Albany and to hold the valley of the Mohawk, a policy which, if successfully carried out, would have cut off all connection with the western lakes, and thus have opened direct communication between lake Champlain and the Ohio, and have given to the French the entire western portion of the continent beyond the Alleghanies. The plan of the French campaign was that de Lévis should ascend the Saint Lawrence to Frontenac, and there organize his force. It was to consist of 3,000 men composed of 600 troops of the land and marine force in equal proportions, the remainder Canadians and Indians. Thence he was to cross the lake to Chouaguen.‡ One of the main objects of the expedition was to induce or force the Six Nations to declare themselves allies of the French. If any British settlement had been re-established at Oswego, it was to be destroyed, together with the forts in the carrying-place on the Mohawk. De Lévis was then to descend the Mohawk, and from the side of Schenectady effect a juncture with

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* A rock on lake George still bears the name of "Rogers' rock," from the tradition that, being closely pressed in a retreat, he descended a ravine half-way, when he reached a precipice of 200 feet high, down which he slid on his snow-shoes to the ice of the lake. The event did not take place on this occasion, nor is it recorded by Rogers himself. Had such a hair-breadth escape happened, it is not likely that he would have failed to mention it.

† Letters, p. 183.

‡ Oswego.

Montcalm. The latter was to leave Carillon with a strong force. On being joined by de Lévis the two would attack fort Edward and act against Albany.

De Lévis saw the full difficulty of the duty assigned him ; he had only two months' provisions of biscuits and pork ; he was without tents ; and he anticipated formidable opposition from those Indians of the Six Nations who remained attached to the British side. The expedition was theoretically possible, but attended by obstacles almost insuperable, and was indeed finally abandoned.

CHAPTER VI.

A new impulse had, however, been given to the power of Great Britain which was to exercise an almost superhuman influence on her fortunes and prosperity, to which few parallels in any page of history can be found. The duration of Pitt's ministry to the death of George II., and the subsequent years, furnish a sufficient contradiction to the theorists who can see, even in the most revolutionary events, nothing beyond a compound of inevitable consequence, and the natural sequence of circumstance. It is rarely possible, in the same degree, to trace the working of a commanding mind upon a people, to elevate its patriotism, its sense of duty, and its better nature, permanently to leave its impress upon the national character. The triumphs of Great Britain have never been attained through court or parliamentary intrigue: indeed, it is often to the blight of their pernicious interference that our misfortunes and failures may be traced. Whatever the form of government we may live under, it is imperfect in the degree, that we fail to avail ourselves of worth and ability in what rank soever they may be found. It was the recognition of this principle which, when evoked by Chatham, awoke the spirit of the nation, and drew forth the noblest inspiration of manhood out of the torpidity of self-interest and corruption. We may learn from Chatham's career, that the institutions the most secure and capable of developing human happiness, are those under which education and capacity play the first part. In an oligarchy with a show of refinement, as the character of the ruler may determine, the worst passions are restrained or find their outlet, but the tendency of the system is that, by favouritism, men are assigned duties to the performance of which they are unequal. In democratic communities political partisanship appeals chiefly to the passions, by which party success can be attained, with little regard to the consequences involved. The problem of government is still far from its solution. Two principles, however, rise in prominence to claim acceptance: the necessity of giving the means of education to all who can indirectly influence the national deliberations, and so legislating as to bring within the working of the constitution every person who can justly claim the right to frame and mould it. But where practically establish a limit? By what means constitute a governing class, however broad the basis on which it is selected?

The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle exercised so tranquilizing an influence on English politics that Mr. Pelham remained at the head of the ministry until his death in 1754. Ten years earlier, in 1744, he possessed sufficient power to force George II. reluctantly to dismiss lord Carteret; and the ministry, in order to strengthen its position, had then included several of the opposition within its ranks. They were mostly Pitt's friends; he was himself unprovided for. In Pitt's attacks of lord Carteret he had inveighed against the partiality shewn by the king to his Hanoverian dominions, and the subsidies paid to the German troops. The ability which he had shewn in this parliamentary warfare had raised him to the first rank in the house of commons, and he had become formidable from the reputation he had gained, and his personal influence in debate. From these causes the king entertained an insurmountable personal objection against Pitt's admission to office. The matter was brought to a crisis in 1745, at the time of the last attempt of the pretender: the Pelhams resigned. Lord Carteret, now the earl of Granville, attempted to form a government, but it was impossible to overcome the parliamentary resistance he experienced. The Pelhams returned to power with an understanding that their recommendations should be accepted. One concession they made to the king, that Pitt should be placed in a position, by which he would not be often brought in direct contact with him. Pitt, therefore, instead of being named secretary of war, as was intended, was appointed vice-treasurer of Ireland, and was shortly afterwards made treasurer of the forces.

The office was one of great profit, not from the salary attached to it, but owing to the large sums placed at the disposal of the incumbent, on which a considerable payment for interest was obtainable. It had always been the custom for the paymaster to make use of the money in this way, and it was well known that such was the case. Pitt disdained to follow the practice; he resolved only to receive his salary. He likewise declined to accept the percentages paid by foreign princes on the subsidies voted by parliament. This disinterestedness, joined to his remarkable ability, established his character in the public estimation. It was unassailable, and the favour he gained was the commencement of the extraordinary popularity he so long enjoyed. In 1750, a proof was given of his political strength, which was likewise a presage of the future position he was to assume. Pelham proposed a reduction of the numbers of seamen from 10,000 to 8,000; the motion was advocated by Pelham himself, by Fox (the first lord Holland), as secretary of war, and by lord Barrington, as one of the board of admiralty. Pitt, then paymaster of the forces, arose and powerfully opposed the motion of his own colleagues. He based his objection to the measure on the fears he entertained, of some unexpected attempt on the part of the adherents of the pretender: fears certainly not without justification. The unpopularity of Frederick prince of Wales and of the duke of Cumberland was extreme. It became the fashion in many circles to praise the pretender, and for young ladies to sing those sentimental jacobite ditties, which, without their political significance, still retain their place amongst us. At that time it was, however, a different matter. The duke of Cumberland, with honesty of character, was imprudent in many of his utterances, and there had been an endeavour to magnify the severity of his conduct after Culloden, which even now has not passed away. Pitt's view was that the country should be prepared against any fresh attempt by the pretender's partizans. The motion was carried. In spite of this mark of independence Pitt remained in his official position. In the upper house, Pitt was sustained by the duke of Bedford.

The death of the prince of Wales took place in 1751. He had been suffering from pleurisy. An abscess had formed on his breast, from a blow by a ball received at a game. He died suddenly in the arms of Desnoyers, a popular dancing master of the day, who was playing on the violin for his amusement. The princess was left with seven children and in advanced pregnancy; prince George, afterwards George III., was a boy of twelve. Until this date there had been a prince's party, which had mainly constituted the opposition; it was now entirely dissolved. The princess discouraged all attempts to restore the former political antagonism: her first desire was to satisfy the king. The regency bill, which as a consequence was introduced, received much opposition. The princess was appointed guardian of the prince's person until the age of eighteen, and regent of the kingdom, with the advice of a council composed of the duke of Cumberland and nine of the principal officers of state. The friends of the princess opposed these restrictions, which they considered were in favour of the duke's influence. Pitt justified the bill on the ground that in the event of the death of the princess it would be dangerous to give extreme power to the duke. Fox, on the other hand, warmly defended him, and an altercation arose between them on this point, although members of the same government; so little control had Pelham of these his two leading subordinates.

On Pelham's death, in 1754, and the duke of Newcastle becoming first lord of the treasury, the question arose who was to lead in the house of commons. There will be always found men of the stamp of Newcastle in imperial politics. Even in the outer provinces of the empire in which constitutional government is being developed, in accordance with the conditions to which it must be adapted, such men are not rare. Their own success is the first consideration, and their entire policy is directed to the means by which political power can be attained and kept. The least recommendation in their eyes is merit. They look for pliant tools to do their bidding, willing to receive with patience the kicks and rebuffs incident to the servility of sycophancy.

It was a personage of this character that Newcastle desired to represent him in the house of commons. Pitt was at Bath drinking the waters for the gout; he was not in the cabinet, and his character made him the last man in England fitted for the duty. Fox was appealed to: he was offered to be made secretary of state, with the lead in the house of commons; the condition, however, was annexed that Newcastle was to keep in his control the purchase of the votes of members of parliament, in accordance with the system followed at that date, and to some extent for nearly the succeeding half century. The euphemism was used in the public accounts as "secret service money"; there can, however, be no doubt of the application of the large sums named.* Fox had not many scruples at any time of his life, but he was a man of ability and with an acknowledged reputation, and he had every right

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* A record remains of the corruption of parliament in Pelham's time. Wraxall relates the fact [IV. p. 667-670] "on the authority of a man of rank and high character whom I do not name," but for whose veracity Wraxall vouched. This personage was acquainted with Roberts, Pelham's secretary. The latter died in 1776, and his medallion is yet to be seen in poets' corner, Westminster abbey. Roberts, in 1767, stated that while he remained at the treasury, several members of parliament regularly received a stipend in bank notes, the payment varied from five to eight hundred pounds. "This largess I distributed," added Roberts, "in the court of requests on the day of the prorogation of parliament. I took my stand there, and as the gentlemen passed me, in going to or returning from the house, I conveyed the money in a squeeze of the hand. Whatever person received the ministerial bounty in the manner thus related, I entered his name in a book, which was preserved in the deepest secrecy, it being never inspected by any human being except the king and Mr. Pelham."

On the death of Pelham, in 1754, Newcastle desired to see the book, and asked for its surrender. Roberts declined to give it up except to the king. His narrative is too graphic for abbreviation. "In consequence of my refusal they acquainted the king with the circumstances, who sent for me to St. James', where I was introduced into the closet, more than one of the above-mentioned Ministers being present. George the Second ordered me to return him the Book in question, with which Injunction I immediately complied. At the same time taking the Poker in his Hand, he put it in the Fire, made it red hot, and then while we to aspire to a higher position than that offered him. Even if the material advantages impressed him, his intellect recoiled before the impossibility of taking the first part in the house of commons under such humiliating conditions. Newcastle at the same time claimed to retain the direction of all patronage, and while controlling the secret service money, in no way to make known what took place ; he was likewise to have at his disposal the gift of all places and the management of the government boroughs. Fox refused to act on such conditions and one sir Thomas Robinson was selected ; now only remembered by the importance of some of the despatches addressed to him. The appointment reconciled Pitt and Fox, and the re-establishment of cordiality of feeling soon made itself felt.

The elections took place in 1754 ; the administration obtained a majority, and Robinson entered upon his new duties as leader of the house of Commons. Both Fox and Pitt retained their places in the ministry: nevertheless they treated the man to whom, as a theory, they should defer, with the most contemptuous insolence. Newcastle dared not dismiss them, but as Robinson day by day showed his greater disqualification for the office, Newcastle consequently entered into negotiations with Fox, and offered him a seat in the cabinet if he would support Robinson. It is a blot on Fox's memory that the temptation was stronger than his judgment and sense of honour.

The session passed over without injury to the ministerial position. The complications into which the kingdom was drifting were increased, and Newcastle was looked upon more than ever, as incapable of government in a period of danger and emergency. In the previous volume I have recorded the commencement of troubles on the Ohio,* and the determined

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stood round him he thrust the Book into the Flames, where it was immediately reduced to ashes. He considered it in Fact as too sacred and confidential a Register to be thus transferred over to the new Ministers, and as having become extinct with the administration of Mr. Pelham."

* Vol. III., pp. 445-461.

attempt of the French to seize the territory. One of the last proceedings of the house of commons, on a message from the sovereign that he felt it necessary to prepare for war, was an address of thanks and a vote of credit.

The unfortunate failure of Braddock's expedition was a serious blow to Newcastle's administration. Although it cannot now be remembered to his discredit, at the time it told against him in the disappointment which it caused, more with the people than the court. He had been careful to gratify the king by furnishing subsidies to the German princes, on condition of their taking part in the contest which appeared to be imminent. But the embarrassment was not removed, for Legge, as chancellor of the exchequer, refused to sign the warrants for payment. With the view of strengthening his administration Pitt was appealed to and offered a seat in the cabinet with the promise that the royal favour should no longer be withheld: but he declined to sustain the subsidies. Fox, more ductile, made no such objections and was appointed secretary of state, with full powers as leader of the house of commons. Pitt and Legge, who had opposed the subsidies, were dismissed.

In May, 1756, the episode took place of admiral Byng's conduct before Minorca, when he allowed the French fleet under de la Galissonnière to sail away without bringing on a general action. The extreme severity of the sentence of the court-martial, by which he was sentenced to be shot, and the calmness with which he met his fate, have honourably preserved his memory, and he is looked upon as a martyr to political expediency.* His whole conduct, however, was marked by weakness and irresolution. The fleet of de la Galissonnière was of the same strength as his own, and his duty was at all cost to have engaged it. He neglected to do so: the French ships were allowed to sail away, for the French to boast of Byng's defeat. Even if he had hastened to relieve Minorca, he might have redeemed his want of action, but he returned to Gibraltar and left the garrison to capitulate. Twenty thousand French troops were before the citadel, and bombarded it day and night. After an assault by the French on the 27th of June, when the two officers who had principally conducted the siege were wounded and taken prisoners, the fortress surrendered, the garrison marching out with the honours of war. There is scarcely a more painful passage in history than the neglect of Newcastle's ministry to fit out a properly constituted expedition, in connection with Byng's conduct before Minorca, whatever attempt may be made in modern times to explain it away.

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* The caricatures of the time shew that Byng affected the fop and man of fashion. He was an imitation of the French *petit maître* in his manners and dress, a collector of rare china, and in society was known as a great boaster. He is represented in the prints of the time in silk stockings and a dress sword, with a wig *à la mode*, his hat under his arm, and his left hand in a muff; but whatever his errors, he was sacrificed to the unpopularity of the ministry. Among his most active opponents was Anson, whose passion for gaming is expressed on the prints of the time, by his being attached to an E.O. table [then a game much played], as if his movements were affected by his habits. Anson was then at the admiralty, and it was under his advice that the expedition had been constituted. There was

Braddock's defeat, the surrender of Minorca, followed by the news from America of the capture of Oswego, the purchased support of the German princes, and the defiant character of France created general depression. An outcry of rage and disappointment passed through the country. The effort of the ministry was to turn the feeling towards Byng, to attach to him the blame of the failure, and to make him the sufferer for it. No cunning, however, could stifle the

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much in his conduct which exposed him to censure, and by magnifying the misconduct of Byng he hoped that his want of prevision and judgment would be lost sight of in the outcry which he encouraged. Newcastle, especially the object of popular indignation from his incapacity, laboured in every way to transfer the blame to Byng. Every artifice was indulged in to excite prejudice against him. It is the knowledge of these facts that has caused the rebound in Byng's favour, and the extreme punishment he suffered can only be recorded as a disgrace to those who urged it on. On the other hand, it is impossible to refuse acceptance of the impression that Byng behaved very badly, and deserved punishment. Had he been cashiered, he would find few defenders. In spite of the injustice which caused Byng's condemnation, his unfortunate fate awoke a better feeling in the services and greatly aided Chatham in his appeal to the national spirit.

Byng was shot on the quarterdeck of the "Monarque" at Spithead on the 14th of March, 1757.

demand for inquiry into the causes of the late disasters. Fox saw the coming storm ; knowing how Newcastle would cast the blame upon other shoulders, he was the first to resign. Newcastle endeavoured by every effort to reconstitute his ministry, but he quailed before the exasperation of public opinion, and dreading the consequences in the excited condition of the general indignation, himself resigned.

Fox endeavoured to form a ministry. Pitt refused to act with him.* Pitt was now approached by lord Hardwicke ; the only condition on which he agreed to take office was the exclusion of Newcastle. In this emergency the duke of Devonshire was applied to, and he formed an administration in which Pitt became secretary of state, with the lead in the house of commons. It was during this administration that the trial of Byng took place. Pitt shewed his courage at the risk of his popularity and his newly acquired royal favour, by endeavouring to protect Byng from the extreme consequence of the trial, and by earnestly striving to obtain the king's clemency ; but the king was inexorable, and Byng suffered the full penalty of his sentence.

Pitt had married the sister of Richard earl Temple, and Temple had been included in the ministry. His name will appear again in this history in connection with a passage of Wolfe's life. He was pomposity personified ; he had great wealth, and the full sense of its possession. He was unscrupulous, practised in the lowest tricks of politics, with a restless ambition; with very ordinary talents for administration and debate, and in his intercourse with the king he managed to make himself most objectionable.*

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* A name is met in the political struggles of this date, in the future to be identified with the history of Canada under a different aspect to that which it then presented. In 1759, owing to the death of Wolfe, and Monckton being seriously wounded, the hon. George Townshend was the signer of the conditions granted in the capitulation of Quebec. Townshend of the earlier date was a man of fashion ; to use the words of Horace Walpole, "His genius for likenesses in caricature is astonishing." In 1757 he produced a caricature, "The Recruiting Sergeant," in which he ridiculed the abortive attempt of Fox to form a ministry. On an altar was placed the duke of Cumberland, whose corpulence made him amenable to ridicule, and the followers of Fox were being led towards it in every attitude of grotesqueness. It is worthy of remark that two of the figures, that of the fat Bubb Doddington and the lean earl of Winchester, were found among the pencil drawings of Hogarth, published in Ireland's supplement, suggesting that Townshend obtained the assistance of Hogarth in his work : to what extent it is of course impossible to say. (*Vide* Wright's Caricatures of the Georges, pp. 201-2.)

One of the characteristics of George II. was that in his transactions with his ministers he desired their communications to be brief and the matter succinctly submitted. Pitt did not follow this rule; his address was formal and affected; he was stilted and oratorical and his language not easily understood owing to the king's imperfect knowledge of English. Temple's manner is best described by George II. himself: "he is so disagreeable a fellow that there is no bearing him; when he attempts to argue he is pert and sometimes insolent; when he means to be civil he is extremely troublesome, and in the business of his office he is totally ignorant."† It is not to be wondered at that the king thought of the placid complaisance of Newcastle and negotiations were opened with him for his resumption of office; but the duke would take no decided action. He feared the consequences of assuming power under such trying conditions. In this hesitation, the impetuosity of the duke of Cumberland intervened and created the crisis. He had been appointed to the command of the German troops gathered together in Hanover, and having a strong prejudice against Pitt on account of the opposition he had shewn to the Hanoverian subsidies, he was unwilling to leave England in order to assume his duties with Pitt as secretary of state, to exercise control over his movements. The duke had no great difficulty in acting upon the king's dissatisfaction, and in persuading him to deal summarily with members of the ministry whose manners were distasteful to him, and in whom, personally, he placed little confidence. Temple was dismissed on the 5th of April, in the expectation that Pitt would accept the act as a personal affront and resign. Pitt saw clearly what was intended; he remained passive and the court accordingly had to complete the contemplated change. He, himself, was dismissed on the 9th: other removals followed, and the ministry, as it had been reconstituted, ceased to exist. The duke of Cumberland having attained his purpose, was so little affected by the crisis which he had created, that he even failed to see its existence. He believed a few weeks would suffice to affirm the position of a new ministry when all would again run on smoothly, and he left for his command on the continent.

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* Richard Grenville, eldest son of Mr. Richard Grenville, of Wotton, and Esther Temple, countess Temple and viscountess Cobham in her own right. He was the first Richard Grenville earl Temple, succeeding to the title on the decease of his mother in 1752.

† Lord Waldergrave's Memoirs, p. 90.

The appointment of Pitt to office had to some extent quieted public feeling, and had revived the hopes of the nation. Nevertheless, little had been done to change the policy of the country. There was the same want of energy and effort, for the public service had been paralyzed, owing to the control exercised by Newcastle and his supporters. As we read of his influence, he appears as the evil genius in the tale, whose glance could wither to nothingness everything it fell upon. The dismissal of the ministry, as it removed all hope of better government, awoke the old feeling of discontent with increased bitterness; on all sides loudly expressed complaint and dissatisfaction were heard. The whole country was in a fever of anxiety and anger at the removal of Pitt; such was the public confidence in his character. The city of London, ever foremost in the career of civil and religious liberty, and in its support of honest government, voted him the freedom of the city. It was a significant political demonstration, followed by the other large cities. The kingdom throughout was convulsed to the core, and on all sides Pitt was the recipient of honours. Eleven weeks passed without a ministry being formed. Finally, the exigencies of the situation exacted on all sides some abatement of the pretensions which had led to the dead-lock. The king accepted the appointment of Pitt as secretary of state to act as first minister in the house of commons, having full control of the direction of the war, and the foreign policy of the country. Fox became paymaster of the forces, accepting an office of great emolument, but without influence ; being content to vote as the minister prescribed. Newcastle brought to the support of the administration his wide parliamentary interest, and undertook the control of the votes of the house of commons given in support of the ministry ; the department of corruption for which he was competent. The great affairs of the nation were left to the genius and energy of Pitt.

It was the commencement of the most powerful administration which England has ever seen. We have not only to consider the triumphs which were accomplished, but the condition in which the country was languishing when Pitt obtained power. There was a dead level of selfishness and meanness, joined to an utter indifference of everything which affected the public interest. There was no recognition of merit, no reward for devotion to duty : it was a period when influential incompetence revelled in its paradise. The one object of men in power had been the preservation of their parliamentary majority, in order that they could retain the dignity and profits of office. Every embarrassing question was avoided or glossed over : every useful measure was abandoned as the noisy outcry of an interested opposition : every abuse was maintained ; all responsibility by executive officers avoided. Political partisans were pushed into offices of consequence and extravagantly paid, and pensions and position given to any prominent personage capable of proving troublesome. It was inaction raised to a science, the English version of the saying attributed to Mde. de Pompadour, "*Après moi le deluge.*"

Pitt's administration lasted until the death of the king in 1760, when it was broken up by George III. to place the favourite of his mother, the incompetent lord Bute, in power ; and, owing to the doctrines inculcated from his youth upward in the mind of the young king, from the desire to establish the royal will as autocratically and as arbitrarily as that of a Roman Cæsar.

CHAPTER VII.

Pitt's new ministry was completed on the 29th of June, 1757. He selected lord Holdernesse as joint secretary of war, doubtless with the view of avoiding all interference with his energetic policy. Newcastle accepted the duties of the treasury; Legge was named chancellor of the exchequer. Pratt, afterwards lord Camden, became attorney-general; Temple, lord privy seal. Anson was continued in his office in the admiralty. In placing Anson in this position, Pitt determined to retain undisputed control over the navy: he even insisted that the correspondence of naval officers should be referred to him, and that without comment the naval board should accept despatches sent for their signature. Anson's position was so weak, that little opposition could be looked for from him.

Pitt was thus supreme; but the season was far advanced, and with every desire for action, his power was limited to the operations which the period of the year would permit. The early months of his administration presented only the record of disaster; they can be adduced as an example, that frequently the events of the present imperfectly forebode the conclusion hoped or feared. A series of misfortunes were announced, each case in itself a serious reverse. The first news received was the destruction of William Henry in the early days of August, which I have narrated in a previous chapter. It was followed in September by the defeat of the duke of Cumberland at Hastenberg, and the convention of Clostern Severn, which for the time threatened the loss of the king's Hanoverian dominions.

The duke was in Hanover in command of about 60,000 subsidized Hessians, Brunswickers and soldiers from Gotha, his object being the defence of the electorate against the French. Marshal d'Estrées, at the head of 80,000 men, was in the field against him. The French unopposed overran Hesse and seized the capital, Cassel. The duke, believing the passage of the Weser to be so difficult, as in itself to form a line of defence, took ground on the eastern bank, and gave directions for fortifying the two places Münden and Hamelin. But the French without difficulty crossed the river, upon which the duke called in his detachments and established himself at Hastenbach, not far from Hamelin. He was here vigorously attacked on the 27th of July and defeated. The duke hastily retreated, and made no attempt to retrieve the loss of the day. The day after the victory, as if a censure for his success, d'Estrées was replaced by the duc de Richelieu ; the result of court intrigue. The French rigorously raised contributions in the electorate, and took possession of the whole country to Bremen. The duke continued his retreat towards Stade, at the mouth of the Elbe. Four English men-of-war were stationed here, from which he looked for support, but his communication with the stream was cut off. A treaty was negotiated at Clostern Severn on the 8th of September, through the intervention of count Lynar, minister to the king of Denmark. It was stipulated that hostilities should cease ; that the subsidized Germans should return to their homes ; and that the Hanoverian troops should remain in a district assigned them east of the Elbe, in the neighbourhood of Stade. When the treaty was reported to England, the duke was immediately recalled.*

The duke was received in great anger by his father George II., who, when they met, would not speak to him. The high

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* The treaty caused Frederick of Prussia the greatest dissatisfaction. Nearly twenty years afterwards, in October, 1715, he wrote an ode satirizing the duke.

Tel parut Cumberland, cet invincible duc,
Qui sentant ses guerriers mal-adroits à la nage,
Par ce fameux traité leur sauva le naufrage.

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Evitant avec soin surtout de se noyer ;
    Dans le tumulte militaire
    Toujours doux, clément, débonnaire ;
Homicide ne fut, quoiqu'excellent guerrier.
    Je pourrais encore publier,

spirit of the duke was so affected by this treatment, that he immediately resigned every military appointment he held. He was then in his forty-fourth year. In spite of the want of fortune which attended his career, William duke of Cumberland must retain a respectable place in history for his ability, truthfulness, and honesty. It is perhaps not now generally recollected that, owing to his popularity, the flower called "Sweet William" was named after him. There are many fables of his atrocities after Culloden, in one of which he is represented as calling upon Wolfe to shoot a wounded highland soldier, when Wolfe replied he was not an executioner. However stern the treatment of those engaged in the rebellion, it was the consequence of the positive orders from London.*

Pitt's conduct on this occasion showed the magnanimity of

Qu'il nous vit tous ronger des Français comme un chancre.
Aiment mieux, du haut faîte où l'élevait son rang,
Répandre en beaux traités tout un déluge d'encre,
Que de verser pour nous une goutte de sang.

—Œuvres Posthumes de Fréderic II., XV., p. 213.

The convention was subsequently set aside. It was received with the same disfavour in Prussia as in London, and on all sides the retreat of the duke was blamed. On his part he complained that he had been restricted by the regency in Hanover. The treaty was likewise objected to in France, the prevailing opinion being that too favourable terms had been granted to a force, driven into such a position that no alternative presented itself but unconditional surrender. The French endeavoured to provoke the Hanoverians to a line of conduct which would warrant them in declaring that the conditions had been violated. They seized the country, took possession of the government, and exacted the sternest and most exorbitant contributions for the support of the army. Indeed, they refused to acknowledge the conditions unless the Hanoverians and their allies would stipulate not to serve during the war. Urged by the king of Prussia, George II. finally published a declaration justifying the course of renouncing the agreement. The command of the army was conferred on Ferdinand, brother of the duke of Brunswick, the subsequent conqueror of Minden. The duc de Richelieu, on hearing of the activity of the Hanoverians, addressed a letter to prince Ferdinand, in which he offered to fulfil the convention, as it was considered by Prussia and England; otherwise he would feel warranted in burning every building in Hanover from a palace to a cottage, to sack all the towns and villages, and devastate the country. To this threat the prince replied that he would give an answer to the duc de Richelieu at the head of his army.

* Those who may desire to form a fair view of the duke of Cumberland's character will do well to refer to sir Walter Scott's introduction to Waverley.

his character. It may be recollected that the duke had been the principal cause of Pitt's removal from the ministry early in the year. When George II. was exclaiming against his son that he had no authority to make such a treaty, Pitt, in opposition to the king, pointed out that full power had been granted to the duke, which in this respect must be considered his justification.

Pitt's nature was not one to be dismayed by reverses, however painful, and although the season was late he took steps to equip a fleet, the destination of which was kept secret. There was, at this period, in England an extraordinary dread of invasion from France.* There will ever be found a class of alarmists who can see only the dark side of life; the antecedent events of 1745 were so recent that they furnished an argument with men of gloomy natures for the probability of their recurrence. The dread of this movement had been the cause of the limit imposed to Byng's fleet. Pitt's nature was not one to be impressed by the feeling, especially when he held the power by which the danger could be met. He must have seen these fears to be illusory and groundless, and that his first imperative duty was to re-establish public confidence. The country had lost its ancient self-reliance; the future seemed dark with additional disaster. The debt was increasing, amid the common feeling that no counterbalancing advantage was obtained. Faith in the public spirit had fled. Incapacity, irresolution, with the care for private and family interest, were apparent on all sides. The nation had no longer any confidence in its good fortune, and while the highest hope was an avoidance of serious failure, the common belief had arisen that national ruin and disgrace impended over the land.

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* Frequent allusion to this probability may be found in the letters of the time. On the 24th of October, 1755, Wolfe wrote to his mother: "in case of an invasion I imagine my father will think it his duty to be at the head of his regiment." In November he writes from Canterbury: "General Hawley is expected in a few days to keep us all in order. If there is an invasion they could not make use of a more unfit person, for the troops dread his severity, hate the man and hold his military knowledge in contempt." In February, 1756, "I believe the French would be pleased to invade us if they knew how to get over;" and in July: "What makes me laugh, is our extravagant fears of an invasion, at a time when it is absolutely absurd and almost impossible." [Wright, pp. 329: 333-4: 341.] Mrs. Delaney relates in her autobiography [III., 401] alluding to this panic, owing to a wedding procession passing rapidly through some villages, the inhabitants rushed to their houses, barricaded them, armed themselves with pitchforks and exclaimed that the invasion had come. In his letters to sir Horace Mann, Horace Walpole laughs at these fears. In March, 1755, he wrote [III. p. 140] the French "shall be in Southwark before I pack up a single miniature." In February, 1756, he wrote [III., p. 176], "The reigning fashion is expectation of an invasion; I can't say I am fashionable; nor do I expect the earthquake though they say it is *landed* at Dover."

An expedition had been suggested by the probability of its success, the design being to destroy the vessels of war in the harbours on the eastern coast of France. The seaboard had been stripped of its defenders to send troops to Germany, and there was the expectation that the possibility of attack would lead to the withdrawal of a large force from the army operating against Frederick of Prussia. The expedition was ready to sail in September; the period taken for its organization was remarkably short, two months only having elapsed from the day when Pitt assumed office. Sixteen ships of the line and several frigates and transports sailed from Spithead, the fleet being under the command of sir Edward Hawke. Sir John Mordaunt was the senior general: a man well known in society, with an assured position as the nephew of the earl of Peterborough, he was personally most estimable. He had thirty-seven years service, having entered the army in 1721, and was now lieutenant-general. He had commanded a brigade at Culloden, and was present in Lauffeld in 1747. The command was, in the first instance, offered to lord George Sackville, better known as lord George Germaine, but it was declined. The second in command was Conway, whose name appears in the imperial history for the succeeding quarter of a century. Cornwallis was the third superior officer. His fame rests on his conduct in the foundation of Halifax, where he shewed uncommon ability and judgment.

The expedition is of importance in the history of Canada, inasmuch as it is the occasion when Wolfe's name first appears in prominence. Although Wolfe had attracted attention in the service by his ability and conduct, he was otherwise unknown. With the commanders of regiments he had obtained reputation from the excellent condition to which he had brought the men under him, and the "intelligence of the discipline he enforced." He was appointed quartermaster-general to the expedition.

There was no delay in the departure of the fleet: it left St. Helen's on the 8th of September. After being a week at sea, the information was made known that the objective point was Rochefort, on the right bank of the Charente. The fleet arrived on the 21st of September, but owing to the high wind no attempt was made to land until the 23rd, when the Ile d'Aix was taken by captain, afterwards lord, Howe. During the inaction of the preceding days, Wolfe applied for permission to make a reconnaissance, when he saw that a fort on a sandy promontory had first to be silenced before Rochefort could be attacked. He formed the opinion that a single man-of-war could approach sufficiently near for the place to be cannonaded, and that under protection of the fire, troops could be landed for an attack on the reverse side. The pilot considered that there was water sufficient. The admiral ordered a careful reconnaissance to be made, upon which the opinion was formed that the landing might be effected. At the council of war the discussion turned upon the possibility of re-embarking the troops. The general was desirous of receiving a positive assurance from the admiral that he would undertake at any time to embark the troops. Hawke replied that the operation must depend on the wind and weather. The council was not of opinion that the attempt should be made. Two days' deliberation ensued, when the opinion was reversed, and the men were put on board the ships' boats. After lying on the water for three hours, the troops were ordered to return on shipboard. Again there was a misconception between the general and admiral. On the 29th, Hawke by letter informed Mordaunt that if no further military operations were to be proposed, the fleet must return to England. Mordaunt accordingly called a third council, at which the admiral refused to attend, as seamen were not judges of the operations of troops on land. During this hesitation, Wolfe offered, if 500 men were given him and three ships of war, he would make the attempt on Rochefort. The offer was refused. On a third council of war, it was resolved to demolish the fortifications of Aix and to return to England.

The national disappointment on this failure was generally and strongly felt. A court of inquiry was held upon the conduct of Mordaunt ; the report, though equivocal, amounted to censure of his conduct. Consequently Mordaunt was tried by court-martial. The verdict in this case was that of acquittal.

Few ministers entering upon office during a war, carried on with activity and determination by a powerful enemy, have had to encounter the influence of such depressing reverses. An ordinary mind would have been dismayed and have cowed before the future. The gloomy news from the continent and from America were only re-echoed by the failure of the efforts he had himself originated. With nations, when true self-reliant courage is the basis of the popular character, as with individuals who, with great qualities, have suffered wrong and adversity, misfortune brings forth the nobler, higher and better instincts which circumstances have caused to lie dormant. The immediate consequence is the exercise of the spirit of determination, by which the best results are achieved. How many private histories, if they were written, could trace to what at the time appeared an overwhelming disaster, the awakening of that mental discipline and labour which opened the path to distinction and fortune. Mere complacent satisfaction in the happier chronicles of a nation is a widely different sentiment to that re-awakened patriotism, called into life by the sense of the peril in which the country is placed, to teach us, that on all sides individual effort is demanded, to restore peace and happiness to the nation, when threatened by danger and disaster. As Pitt looked around him in the higher ranks of the services, the sign most predominant was indolent and selfish caution, antagonistic to all display of vigour.

There was little fondness for the duties of military life ; its attraction consisted in the distinction it conferred and the means of livelihood it furnished. As Pitt cast his eyes over the list of general officers, not one name suggested itself as a fit commander of an important enterprise. On all sides there was the same indifference to duty. Army contractors and purveyors were intent on gain ; unenterprising and ignorant, their greatest knowledge was that of falsifying accounts. Pitt sought out and detected many such abuses ; further, he remedied them. He brought to the discharge of his own obligations, attention, care and devotion. His unceasing labour, his punctual observance of every minor detail, his indefatigable examination of all that came under his notice, awoke a spirit through public life to recall the glorious days of Marlborough. No man met Pitt and received his instructions, but was carried away by the extraordinary influence he could impart. Thoughts which men had not known to be theirs, came upon natures capable of entertaining them, as they heard his plainly-given orders, and listened to his elevated views. He imparted, as it were, that sense of determination and courage, that chivalrous disregard of self, the true prompting spirit of great and noble actions. He brought England back to her true nature, and the re-establishment of the national spirit may be traced to his inspiration.

The line of policy, which Pitt determined vigorously to carry out, was the attempt to drive the French from America, and to establish over the whole continent undisputed British rule. The operations to effect this result could be narrowed to three objective points : the fortress of Louisbourg ; the city of Quebec ; in each case to be attacked by a united naval and land expedition ; third, by an advance of a land force by lake Champlain, to attack the French posts on the lake, and to advance upon Montreal. Quebec and Montreal wrested from the French, the outer posts of Frontenac, Niagara, and Detroit, with the forts on the Ohio, including fort Duquesne, would be cut off from all assistance, and from want of supplies would have no alternative but to surrender.

The fortress of Louisbourg was alike a threat to Massachusetts and to Nova Scotia, from the privateers which found refuge in its harbour and stole out to prey upon the commerce of Boston and the other towns ; while the large force stationed there threatened the very existence of Halifax. Its destruction accordingly assumed importance in the imperial as in the provincial point of view. In November, 1757, brigadier Waldo, who had been third in command of the land forces at the siege of 1745, addressed a memorial to Pitt, with maps and plans, detailing a mode of attack. One miscalculation of this paper was the supposed ease with which the troops could be landed : it was the duty in which the greatest difficulty was experienced. Waldo estimated that the place could not hold out fourteen days. One point he dwelt upon, the necessity of a superiority of force, and that it was essential the expedition should arrive before Louisbourg at the latter end of April.* The failure of the expedition of Loudoun had to a great extent been attributed to the late period when it left England.

So soon as the campaign was resolved upon, great activity was shewn in completing the organization. It was far advanced in January : we have a letter from Wolfe of the 7th, that he hurried from Exeter to London to receive his instructions. He was appointed brigadier-general, his commission, however, only giving him rank in America.† Even Pitt could not break through the spirit of routine which was weighing down the service in order to give full promotion to merit. There stood between him and his desires the adamantine social barrier, the claim of seniority ; a difficulty ever to recur, only to be met in individual cases, by the unmistakeable expression of public opinion.

There was less difficulty in finding a leader in the naval than in the land service. The discipline of the navy exacts from the least attentive a close observance of daily duty ; and it is not possible on shipboard for the time wholly to be passed in frivolity. The ordinary every day life therefore cannot fail to bring with it some experience and knowledge, and a few years' service as a naval officer must leave its distinct impress. In those days many of this class were rough in their manner, and had not sought to improve the slight education they had received; they were, however, perfectly at home afloat; they were excellent seamen, ready to fight their ship, and resolute in the hour of danger. The selection of the admiral proved fortunate in the extreme. He cordially co-operated with the general in command; was not restrained by ill-considered professional doubts and scruples, and was ready to take his share of the risk and responsibility in trying times. Towards the end of the siege full proof was given of his enterprise and dash; during its continuance his judgment and forethought were unfailingly apparent.

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* Archive Report, 1886, cli.

† 23rd of January, 1758.

Admiral Edward Boscawen was the third son of the first viscount Falmouth. His grandmother was Arabella Churchill, who, after the termination of her connection with James II., married Mr. Charles Godfrey. Boscawen, born in 1711, had entered the navy at fifteen; he was now forty-seven years old. He had sailed with the unfortunate admiral Hozier, and was present at Porto Bello as a volunteer under Vernon. In 1742 he had been appointed to the "Dreadnought." As his qualities were considered to accord with the ship's name, he was known by the men as "Old Dreadnought," but, from carrying his head on one side, he was christened by the sailors "Wry-necked Dick." He had served in the East Indies with no good fortune. In 1755 he was in command of the fleet sent to the North American station, and it was the ships of his squadron which fell in with and captured "l'Acide" and "le Lys." In 1757 he had been appointed in command with Hawke. With this record, he was named admiral of the fleet directed against Louisbourg.

The commander-in-chief was general Amherst. He belonged to a family of respectability of Rivershead, near Seven Oaks, in Kent. He was born in 1717. He owed his first position to the favour of the duke of Dorset, who was a neighbour of his father. When the duke was lord lieutenant of Ireland Amherst acted as page, and in this position he became known to lord George Sackville, afterwards lord George Germaine, by whose interest he was much advanced in the service. As most of the young men of that day, at the age of fourteen he received his first commission in the guards. He early obtained the position of aide-de-camp to lord Ligonier, and was present at Roucoux, Dettingen and Fontenoy. He was at the battle of Lauffeld, in 1747, on the staff of the duke of Cumberland. In 1756 he became colonel of the 15th. He was present, in 1757, at Hastenback, and afterwards served with the British *corps d'armée* acting under prince Ferdinand. He had attracted the attention of his superiors, by his talents and his self-control, thoroughly to obtain their confidence. It was in this position, when serving in Germany as a colonel, that he was selected by Pitt to take command of the forces in North America, with the rank of major-general. He was then forty-two years of age. He owed much to the Dorset family, and it appears probable that it was the same influence which led to his selection. Pitt had offered the command to lord George Sackville, in the expedition against Rochefort. Lord George's desire was to serve on the continent, and he had declined it. This position he subsequently obtained, unfortunately for his good fame, having succeeded to the chief command through the death of the duke of Marlborough. It is not improbable that he brought Amherst to Pitt's notice. It was a bold and unusual proceeding on the part of the minister to pass over the general officers on the roster, to select a colonel of a few years' standing to be placed in high command. There must have been powerful assurances of Amherst's ability to lead to this course. Fortunately for himself, he was favourably known both to lord Ligonier and the duke of Somerset.

He is described by a later writer* as being tall and thin, with an aquiline nose, an intelligent countenance, and a dried-up complexion. His manners were grave, formal, and cold. His judgment and his understanding were considered to be good; neither was cultivated by education or expanded by knowledge. He was exceedingly taciturn: when in after years he attended the cabinet dinners, he rarely expressed an opinion on any political question. He gave his vote in the negative or affirmative in few words, often in monosyllables, and never could be induced to give his reasons. He is accused by contemporary writers of being grasping, and of endeavouring to enrich himself. It will be seen hereafter that he endeavoured to obtain a grant of the jesuits' estates after the conquest. So many difficulties intervened, that the matter remained unsettled at his death, and in lieu of the grant an annuity was given to the second lord. Amherst, on reaching America, had twenty-eight years' service; he had long been a friend of Wolfe, who, on hearing of his promotion to the colonelcy of the 15th, wrote that "no one deserves the king's favour better than that man."

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* Wraxall, II., 192.

The three junior brigadiers were Lawrence, Wentworth, and Wolfe.

James Wolfe was born in Westerham, in Kent, near London, on the 2nd of January, 1727. At that date his father was forty-three years old, a lieutenant-colonel in the army, having served with distinction under Marlborough. His mother was Henrietta Thompson, of a distinguished Yorkshire family; she was then twenty-four, being nineteen years her husband's junior. The Wolfes were originally Anglo-Irish. The great-grandfather of Wolfe settled in the north of England, and this branch of the family left Ireland. Wolfe was the eldest of two sons: his brother Edward, a year younger, also in the army, died at Ghent in October, 1744, in his seventeenth year; his weak frame at that age being unable to sustain the hardships of the campaign.

Wolfe's first commission was in his father's regiment of marines; he was not then fifteen. He was soon afterwards transferred to the 12th, colonel Duroure's regiment. In the same year he was at Ghent. Even at this early date he suffered from bad health; he wrote,* "I never come into quarters without aching hips and knees." Throughout his life, from the weakness of his constitution, he suffered from occasional severe sickness. Wolfe's education only lasted a few years, and he left school at the age when boys are being transferred to the higher forms: he had no illusions as to his deficiencies in this respect, and his constant effort was to remedy them. He was, indeed, what most men must be, more or less, self-educated; doubtless, his mind received in his first years those good impulses by which his character was formed. When at Glasgow, and he was then a major, in his twenty-second year, with every inducement to pass his time in amusement, he relates that in the morning, "I have a man to instruct me in mathematics, and in the afternoon another comes to assist me in regaining my almost lost Latin." Of French he obtained a knowledge to speak it fluently. He learned to dance and to fence; indeed, he endeavoured to perfect himself in every social duty. He was a diligent student of his own profession. It is related of him at Louisbourg, that when some surprise was expressed as to the drill he had introduced into the movements of the light infantry * of passing rapidly from point to point, availing themselves of cover, and gaining the advantage of height in an attack, Wolfe asked an officer of some reading what he thought of it. "I think," was the reply, "I see something here of the history of the Carduchi who harassed Xenophon, and hung

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* 14th of February, 1743.

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* Entick thus describes the light infantry which rendered essential service during the siege. The course pursued on this occasion may appear worthy the attention of a general in the field. "Our light infantry, Highlanders and Rangers, the French termed the English savages, perhaps in contradistinction to their own native Indians, Canadians, &c., the true French savages. These light infantry were a corps of 550 volunteers, chosen as marksmen out of the most active, resolute men, from all the battalions of regulars, dressed, some in blue, some in green jackets and drawers, for the easier brushing through the woods, with ruffs of black bear's skin round their necks, the beards of their upper lips some grown into whiskers, others not so, but all well smutted on that part, with little round hats like several of our seamen. Their arms were a fusil cartouche, box of balls and flints, and a powder horn flung over the shoulders." "The rangers are a body of irregulars, who have a more cut-throat savage appearance, which carries in it something of natural savages; the appearance of the light infantry has in it more of artificial savages." Vol. III., p. 227.

upon his rear in the retreat over the mountains." "You are right," said Wolfe, "I had it there, but our friends are astonished at what I have shewn them, because they have read nothing." *

We have here the explanation of Wolfe's professional knowledge. It was unceasingly sought after by him wherever he thought that it could be obtained. Even in his seventeenth year he acted as adjutant to his regiment, in which capacity he was present at Dettingen. At the close of the campaign he returned to England, when he was appointed captain in Barrell's, the 4th regiment. He was not at Fontenoy. In 1745 his regiment was a part of the force of marshal Wade sent to oppose the pretender. He was at Falkirk and at Culloden, under the duke of Cumberland, and he has left an account of the battle. The rebellion having been subdued, he remained in the highlands, and he is believed to have remained in command of the fort between lochs Lomond and Katrine. Wolfe was again in service on the continent in January, 1747, and was present at Lauffeld on the 2nd of June. He returned to London in the winter of 1747-8, going back to the continent in March, 1748. In January, 1749, he was appointed major in lord George Sackville's regiment, the 20th.

At this date occurred his *affaire de cœur* with Elizabeth, eldest daughter of sir Wilfrid Lawson, maid of honour to the princess of Wales. Wolfe was thrown much into her society during the winter he was in London. She was well connected, being the niece of lord Peterborough. It was not her position at the court which attracted Wolfe, for he described it "as a genteeler way to wickedness," which, with Miss Chudleigh in his mind, it was not difficult to believe. While personally he was much attached to Miss Lawson, his parents were opposed to the match, an objection based on the lady's want of fortune. If Wolfe ever made a serious proposal it was rejected; he himself speaks of his "last disappointment in love," and he was angry with his mother when she wrote that

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* Anabasis, Book IV., 1-2.

Miss Lawson's ill-health prevented her marrying. "My amour," he wrote five years later, "has not been without its use. It has defended me against other women, introduced a great deal of philosophy and tranquility as to all objects of our strongest affections, and something softened the disposition to severity and rigour that I had contracted in the camp, trained up as from my infancy to the conclusion of the peace in war and tumult." A few years after the affair his old feelings were awakened by seeing Miss Lawson's picture in the house of general Mordaunt. It may be well to remark that Miss Lawson died in March, 1759, in less than a month after the departure of Wolfe for the St. Lawrence.

In 1749, owing to the departure of the lieutenant-colonel, Cornwallis, to assume the duties of the government of Nova Scotia, Wolfe was placed in command of the regiment. It was the commencement of the reputation he subsequently attained. Wolfe's attention was directed to every minor detail of the interior economy of the regiment. His effort was not simply given to the smart appearance of men on parade, and that they should execute their movements in the field with steadiness and regularity; Wolfe was among the first to shew his care and consideration for the soldier in the ranks, and to elevate him in his own self-respect. The high degree of excellence to which he brought the regiment, became widely known, and men of rank and position on joining the service applied to obtain their commissions in the 20th. Among such as these was the duke of Richmond and the marquis of Blandford. When the battle of Minden was fought, on the 1st of August, 1759, Wolfe was in command of the expedition against Quebec, but the gallantry and good service of the regiment, on that day, were fully recognized as the consequence of his discipline and training.

The age was one of reckless dissipation and idleness. In the hour of danger the officers shewed courage and fortitude; but there was a total disregard of the study of their profession. There was, indeed, little encouragement to the military student, for promotion was the consequence of political influence and powerful family connections. Wolfe's letters are full of allusions to this condition. In his own command he exacted constant attention to duty, and one of his orders sets forth that the subalterns cannot think they do too much. In 1750 he was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the 20th. Two years later he was at Paris, the bearer of letters from lord Bury to his father, the British ambassador, the earl of Albemarle. He thus obtained the passport into the best society, French and English. For the six months he was at Paris he was a diligent student of the language, so that he spoke it fluently and elegantly. He was desirous of professionally visiting the continental camps; but his application for leave for the purpose was refused, so he returned to England. Towards the end of 1753 the 20th was quartered at Dover. The regiment remained in the south and west of England until the commencement of the war in 1756. In the following year he accepted the position of quartermaster-general for Ireland, on condition that he received the rank of colonel. On a younger lieutenant-colonel being promoted over his head, he resigned the appointment. On his return from the expedition to Rochefort, Wolfe was promoted to the rank of colonel. In a letter to his father he speaks of his obligations to sir Edward Hawke, who influenced lord Anson to submit his name to the king. Lord Ligonier was then commander-in-chief, owing to the resignation of the duke of Cumberland. Wolfe, being in doubt as to his future conduct, addressed lord Ligonier on the subject of his proceeding to Ireland. In this dilemma he received the appointment as brigadier in the North American expedition. The selection was the act of Pitt, dictated by the desire to appoint competent men. His position, however, conferred on him only the local rank of brigadier in America: at the siege of Louisbourg, Wolfe's substantive army rank was only that of colonel.

There is a story told of Wolfe, which has been accepted on utterly insufficient evidence, to which I feel called upon to allude. It is related that Pitt invited him to dinner previously to his departure for Quebec, generally to discuss the chances of the campaign, the only other guest present being lord Temple. It is on lord Temple's authority that the story is told. It never publicly appeared until published in lord Mahon's history, in 1844, eighty-six years after the event, with the consent and on the authority of Mr. Thomas Grenville, who had heard the story from lord Temple.* In making the statement Mr. Grenville was careful to add that, according to Temple, Wolfe "had partaken sparingly of wine," but that he indulged in the greatest extravagance of manner and conduct, drawing his sword in the dining room, and declaring what he would effect with it.

It may be asked, on what ground this plain narrative can be disputed? I reply, its total want of corroboration, the character of the first narrator, and the whole life and career of Wolfe himself. Lord Temple speaks of Wolfe being heated by the "unwonted society of statesmen." Such a supposition is ridiculously inadmissible. Pitt himself was no higher in the social class than Wolfe; he had commenced life as a cornet in the "Blues," and by his own genius and political career had attained distinction. There was surely nothing overpowering, either in the birth, rank, ability or character of lord Temple.† Wolfe had been on terms of intimacy with the first men in England. He had associated in the best society. The duke of Richmond and the marquis of Blandford had sought commissions in his regiment. He had mixed with the highest French nobility in Paris. Lord Bury was his intimate friend. If there was one man with family pride, it was lord George Sackville. Wolfe wrote to him with the same freedom as to his intimate friend Rickson.

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* "After Wolfe's appointment, and on the day preceding his embarkation for America, Pitt, desirous of giving his last verbal instructions, invited him to dinner, lord Temple being the only other guest. As the evening advanced, Wolfe, heated, perhaps, by his own aspiring thoughts and the unwonted society of statesmen, broke forth into a strain of gasconade and bravado. He drew his sword, he rapped the table with it, he flourished it round the room, he talked of the mighty things which that sword was to achieve. The two ministers sat aghast at an exhibition so unusual from any man of real sense and real spirit. And when at last Wolfe had taken his leave, and his carriage was heard to roll from the door, Pitt seemed for the moment shaken in the high opinion which his deliberate judgment had formed of Wolfe; he lifted up his eyes and arms, and exclaimed to lord Temple: "Good God! that I should have entrusted the fate of the country and of the administration to such hands." This story was told by lord Temple himself to a near and still surviving relative, one of my best and most valued friends." [Mahon's History of England, IV., p. 152.]

† Horace Walpole makes the following allusion to lord Temple, III., p. 391, 16th Nov., 1759. Letter to sir Horace Mann. "If Lord Temple hoped to involve Mr. Pitt in his quarrel, it was very wicked at such a crisis as this—and if he

It was owing to the marriage of Pitt with the sister of lord Temple, the head of the Grenville family, that Temple possessed influence. Neither his character nor his talents commanded respect; he was wealthy, ambitious, unscrupulous in his attempts to obtain position, untiring in his energy to injure an opponent, and with an exaggerated idea of his personal importance, and of the dignity of the earldom his family had lately obtained. We have many glimpses of his character in the history of that time, when his name appears, mostly in connection with that of Pitt. We read of his blundering impertinence to George II., when he told the king that his own conduct at Malplaquet had placed him in a position similar to that of Byng. His pertinacious application for the vacant garter was the cause of Pitt's letter to Newcastle, which every admirer of Pitt's career must desire had remained unwritten. We read of Temple's intrigues with Wilkes, in the view of increasing his own political weight, carried to such an extent that he was dismissed from the lord-lieutenancy of Buckinghamshire and his name erased from the list of privy councillors. In the complications which arose relative to the regency bill, Temple's conduct was marked by much want of scruple. George III. had determined to make a change in the ministry, from the dissatisfaction felt by him owing to the exclusion of his mother's name from the regency bill. With the desire of forming a ministry controlled by Pitt, his brother George, and himself, Temple persuaded Pitt not to take office

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could I am apt to believe he would—if he could not it was very silly. To the Garter nobody can have slenderer pretensions; his family is scarce older than his earldom, which is of the youngest. His person is ridiculously awkward; and if chivalry were in vogue, he has given proofs of having no passion for tilt and tournament."

on the conditions acceded to by the duke of Cumberland on the part of the king. In spite of his better judgment, Pitt was induced to comply with Temple's request, and in doing so in his theatrical manner added a quotation from Virgil.* Nevertheless, in the question of the stamp act, in 1766, Temple deserted Pitt and allied himself with his brother. Temple's intrigues at that day are fully recorded. Meeting Pitt with friendliness, and separating from him with kindness and good feeling, he wrote to his brother George of "all the insolence" of the "great luminary." The opinion still prevails that on Pitt taking office, the pamphlets directed against him were written at the suggestion of lord Temple.

What is there in lord Temple's career or character to give weight to his statements? We have in contra-distinction to it, Wolfe's well-known life, his worth, his good sense, his patriotism, his high standard of personal honour, his devotion to truth and duty. There is not a single incident to suggest such behaviour as that related to have taken place on this evening. After his death much attention was directed to Wolfe's career. No valid reason can be assigned for the suppression of the incident if it happened. When it was made known, there was no cause for its publication; it was simply a record of historical gossip. It is a fact standing apart, involving no reputation and affecting no principle. Until the appearance of lord Mahon's narrative there is not a line extant to suggest such an event as possible. There may have been some warmth of expression on Wolfe's part, for he felt the necessity of changes and reforms in the army. His correspondence contains complaints of the professional ignorance of many officers and of their reckless course of life. The men were subjected to no controlling influence but the severest discipline. There were no humanizing influences over the soldier and sailor to elevate them above the coarsest animal pleasures. Wolfe, who raised the 20th regiment to the highest state of discipline, may have spoken freely on the condition of the army, and, to the astonishment of the minister, made personal appeals to him on the subject.* Be this as it may, without hesitation I express the opinion that the story of lord Temple is to be rejected, on the ground that it rests upon his own uncorroborated testimony, and that it is at variance with the whole tenor of Wolfe's honourable and chivalrous career.

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* "Exstinxsti me, teque soror, populumque, patresque
Sidonios, urbemque tuam!"—Æn. iv. 682.

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* In Junius' celebrated letter to the king ten years later, he describes the regiments of the line "left to perish in garrisons abroad, or pine in quarters at home, neglected and forgotten . . the private men have four pence a day to exist upon, and four hundred lashes if they desert." [Junius, Letter XXXV., December 19, 1769.]

CHAPTER VIII.

The fortress of Louisbourg had a higher reputation for strength than it deserved; much of its supposed security was placed in the almost continuous surf which broke against the rocks, and from the supposed difficulty of effecting a landing under a heavy fire from the batteries on shore. A harbour, protected from every wind, in which several vessels of war could safely float, was formed between two projecting points, and the town and fortress, surrounded on three sides by water, were established on the western side. The approach to the line of fortifications on the land side was only attainable over marshy ground. Descending southerly, the four bastions were known as dauphin, king, queen, and princess. There were on the fortress and outworks 419 guns and 17 mortars. The *enceinte* of the fortifications was about a mile and three-quarters; their length on the land side about 4,000 feet. Goat island stood in the centre of the entrance to the harbour, on which a strong 30-pr. battery had been established; and on the northern line of the harbour, a formidable battery armed with heavy guns, commanded the entrance and its whole extent. The harbour widened from its entrance to a mile to the northeast, and was known as the northeast harbour. From the central battery on the north side, there was a length of six thousand feet of water, two-thirds of a mile wide, of depth sufficient for ships of the line to anchor. Extending further to the west there was a sheet of water known as the "Barachois," from the side of which during the siege the French frigate, the "Aréthuse" cannonaded the British forces, to impede the formation of the redoubts. There was an inlet some few miles to the east of the harbour, known as Grand Laurentbec;* a fishing station

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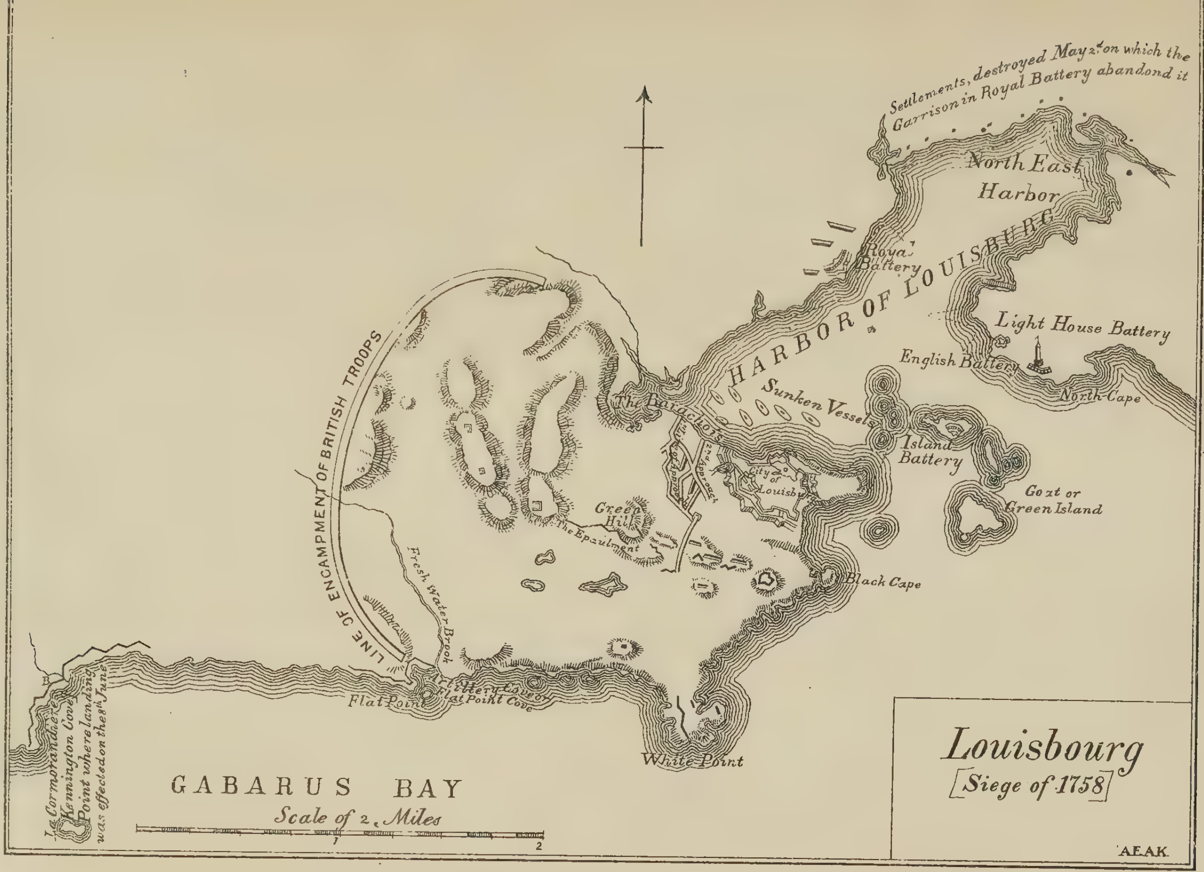
* The word is so given by de Drucour, Que. Doc., IV., p. 145. The English spelling has been both L'Orembeck and Lorembeg.


Louisbourg
[Siege of 1758]
AEAK
Settlements, destroyed May 2d on which the Garrison in Royal Battery abandond it
North East Harbor
HARBOR OF LOUISBURG
Royal Battery
Light House Battery
English Battery
North Cape
Sunken Vessels
Island Battery
Goat or Green Island
The Barachois
Line of Approach
2nd Approach
City of Louisburg
Green Hill
The Epaulment
Black Cape
White Point
LINE OF ENCAMPMENT OF BRITISH TROOPS
Fresh Water Brook
Artillery Cove or Flat Point Cove
Flat Point
La Cormorandiere Kennington Cove Point where landing was effected on the 8th June
GABARUS BAY
Scale of 2 Miles
1
2

had been established here, and it afforded a convenient place for landing on this side.

When the landing was discussed, three points of land on the western side came into prominence as fit for the attempt. Cape Noir was immediately south of the fortress; "White point" was about 6,000 feet to the west; the coast here takes a northwesterly trend, and following the rocky line a mile and a half further "Flat point" was reached, whence there was a more rapid divergence to the north; a short two miles from Flat point there was a small cove, around which the rocks rose to such a height that it was thought that landing was here impossible: it was called by the French "La Cormorandière."

It was to the character of this shore rather than to the strength of the fortress that the French trusted to their defence, for it had little power of resistance against heavy artillery and a strong attacking force. The security of the garrison lay in the prevention of any landing; there was no great risk from any sea attack. There were present the battalions of Artois, Bourgogne, and Cambis, of the regular French force, excellent troops, with a battalion of "*Volontaires Étrangers*," from which several desertions took place during the siege, and which did not command confidence. Two companies of artillery were present to work the guns. There were twenty-four companies of the Canadian marine force, regularly disciplined. The male residents had organized themselves into companies. The total strength may be set down at 3,800 men. In the harbour were five ships of the line and seven frigates, carrying 544 guns manned by 3,000 men. Late in the siege a force of Canadians and Indians arrived, under de Boishébert, with the object of harassing the besiegers. The service performed by them was unimportant. They remained in the woods to the north of the town, whence they issued in their attacks.

Two thousand men were kept in position along the shore to oppose any attempt at landing, and in no way to relax in watchfulness. They were placed in force at the three localities: de St. Julien at "la Cormorandière," the extreme west, with 985 men; Marain at "Flat point" with 620 men; and Danthonnay at "White point" with 250 men. Pickets were thrown out to keep the posts in communication, and a force was held in reserve to be directed against the point attacked.

The commandant was the chevalier de Drucour, who had been in Louisbourg since the 15th of August, 1754. In a memoir sent to France* he describes the fortifications as being in ruins, nothing having been done to place them in repair since the place was given over to France by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. In 1755, orders had been sent to make the fortress defensible, and the work had been carried on under Franquet.

Drucour, in his letter written in England,† describes himself as threatened with famine once a month. From that contingency he had been relieved by the arrival of the ships from France. Although sir Charles Hardy had been cruising in front of the harbour, he had been unable to prevent a single ship entering the port.

The British fleet sailed from Saint Helen's on the 19th of February, 1758, and arrived at Halifax on the 8th of May. Owing to the absence of Amherst, Boscawen remained in command; feeling the danger of further delay, he resolved to put to sea. As the ships were sailing out, the expedition was met by the commander-in-chief, Amherst. There were one hundred and fifty-seven sail composing this formidable armada, carrying a land force of 12,260 men.‡ The ships kept well together until the 30th. On the 1st of June the admiral's ship met captain Rous in the "Sutherland," who had been cruising in front of Louisbourg. It was then known that two ships had entered the harbour the preceding day, and it was believed that there were thirteen vessels to aid in the defence. That night the admiral's ship reached Gabarus bay. The second of June was foggy; about twelve the weather cleared, when a view was obtained of the fortress. During the day about a third of the troop-ships arrived and anchored; in the same afternoon Amherst, accompanied by brigadiers Lawrence and Wolfe, reconnoitred the shore as closely as they could approach. While they remarked the points practicable for landing, they observed that the line of coast was strongly fortified, while the surf was beating upon the shore, as if to give warning that no boat could even approach within reach of landing. So much was said throughout the fleet, of this danger in the presence of a disciplined force provided with cannon, that the admiral, to strengthen his own judgment, invited the captains, one after the other, on board his ship to discuss the hazard of the attempt. Had a council been called, most probably it would have resulted in an adverse decision. Among those summoned was captain Ferguson, of the "Prince

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* Que. Doc., IV.. 145.

† Andover, 1st October, Ann. Reg. 1758, p. 179.

‡ The naval force was composed of 23 ships of the line, 18 frigates, and 116 other vessels and transports, making a total of 157 ships of all descriptions. The land force consisted of

15th [Amherst's]
17th [Forbes']
28th [Bragg's]
35th [Otway's]
40th [Hopson's]
47th [Lascelle's]
48th [Webb's]
58th [Anstruther's]

60th 1st batt. Royal Americans, [Stanwix's]
" 2nd " " " [Monckton's]
63rd Frazer Highlands,
5 companies of Rangers,
with artillery,
making a total of 12,260 men.

The Royal Artillery train included 17 officers, 53 non-commissioned officers, 63 gunners, 163 matrosses. The guns were: Brass—26 4-prs., 18 12-prs., 6 6-prs., 2 13-in. mortars, 2 10-in., 7 8-in., 10 5½-in., 30 $4\frac{2}{5}$-in. Iron—8 32-prs., 25 24-prs., 4 6-prs., 1 13-in. mortar. There were 2 8-in. and 4 5½-in. howitzers. Over 43,000 round shot, 2,380 case, 41,762 shell, besides a few grape and carcasses and 4,888 barrels of powder.

Admiral Boscawen not only detached the marines to aid in working the artillery, he likewise sent 4 32-prs, with part of his own ship's company for a battery.

[History of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, by major Francis Duncan, R.A., pp. 198-200.]

I have to acknowledge my obligation to colonel Irwin, R.A., Inspector of Canadian Artillery, for directing my attention to major Duncan's valuable volume, likewise for many pertinent suggestions with regard to the military events I have endeavoured to describe.

of Orange" 60. He had seen much service, and was distinguished by his courage and conduct: his presence in the fleet had, indeed, been specially asked for by Boscawen. Ferguson would in no way recognize that the impracticability of an enterprise was to be assumed on account of the danger attending it. In his view, no argument which dwelt upon the peril of an attempt should be listened to. He counselled the admiral, for his own honour and for the glory of the country, to assert the power which he possessed by virtue of his rank, and not to appeal to any council of war. The appeal went direct to the bold nature of Boscawen: his spirit rose with the emergency. His instructions were to land the troops on the island of cape Breton, and he resolved to place them on shore, be the risk what it might; and if the general "thought proper" to re-embark them, to cover their retreat.

The determination of Boscawen removed all doubt and irresolution; the ancient courage of the race arose when it was known that the attempt was to be made. Boscawen assembled his lieutenants, and called upon them to exercise the greatest diligence, and to aid the military in every way in their power. On the 3rd the "Kennington" frigate was brought close to the westernmost defences. It was the spot where the New England troops had landed in 1745; by them it was known as "Freshwater creek." The French gave it the name of "la Cormorandière." From this attack of the frigate, in the annals of the siege the spot is known as "Kennington cove."

On the 3rd everything was prepared, but the threatening surf suggested the danger to be incurred. During the examination of the coast the opinion had been formed that less risk would be incurred at Kennington cove than elsewhere, and it was determined that the disembarkation should take place at this spot. On the 4th the snow "Halifax" was ordered to join the "Kennington" in the attack. To distract the enemy, the "Sutherland" and "Squirrel" cannonaded Flat point, and the "Diana" and "Shannon" were brought to bear on the defences of White point. But the weather continued so rough that it was not practicable to land. The formidable coast defences could not be attacked in a rough sea. On the 6th there was a change of weather. Preparations were made for landing, and many of the men embarked, when the fog again came on, while the swell increased. The admiral pronounced the landing inadvisable, and the men were ordered to their ships. Amherst is careful to explain that the "reason for so doing" was made known to them.

The weather on the following morning was bad; as it improved in the afternoon, it was hoped that at daybreak the landing could be made. In the afternoon some sloops were sent to Laurentbec, the small cove to the east of Louisbourg. They were despatched to attract the attention of the fortress, to convey the belief that the landing would be made there. The French did not allow themselves to be deceived and lulled into security. During the preceding six days they had strengthened their position, and reinforced the batteries to the west. No force was detached to Laurentbec, and the vessels sailed to the east without interference.

It was resolved that the landing should be attempted on the 8th. At sunrise the frigates approached the shore and commenced a furious cannonade. The signal was given for embarkation at two in the morning: at daybreak the troops detailed for the attempt had been assembled in three divisions. Six regiments, under brigadier Whitmore, rowed to the right, as if to attempt a landing at White point. The centre, under Lawrence, made a show of landing at Flat point. Thus the whole force of the enemy was kept employed, and no one post could be weakened. The left division, under Wolfe, consisted of four companies of grenadiers, the light infantry, the rangers, the Highland regiment, and eight companies of grenadiers in support. As the boats rowed towards the shore, the cannonade from the frigates ceased.

The French did not throw away a shot, but waited until the near approach of the boats to the shore. It was then that they directed their whole fire upon them. The surf was high and strong, and it seemed impossible to find a landing place.

The boats were met in all directions by the fire of heavy cannon and swivel guns. The *abatis* of fallen trees, with their branches to the sea, extending round the coves appeared impregnable. Moreover the guns were masked, and as the boats came within range, unexpectedly, red hot balls, grape and round shot were sent among them ; at the same time, a continual fusillade of small arms was kept up from the height of fifteen feet above their level.

As the troops of Wolfe's division suffered from the fire of the defences, they were much exasperated. It was, however, plain to Wolfe that the defences were too strong to be forced, and that the landing to be successful must be attempted at some other spot. It may be asked if there was not a want of judgment on the part of the French in this premature discharge of their artillery? Had they permitted the boats to approach and had opened fire when the attempt to land was being made, many of the British must have been killed and placed *hors de combat*; and it is questionable if the movement would have succeeded. As it was plain that a well organized resistance was to be experienced, the direction of the boats was changed ; the order was given for passing to the left. In one of the boats by which the order was obeyed, lieutenants Hopkins and Browne with ensign Grant observed a place which appeared to them to admit of landing. With about 100 light infantry they dashed for the shore to the right of Kennington cove, and rowed forward until they found a place whence they could wade to shore. They made their way over the rocks and irregularities of ground, and reached the spot which had been looked upon as impregnable.

A small projecting cape had concealed the movement. The *escarpment* was at this point difficult to ascend, and as it had been considered that it was a spot where no attempt was possible, no force was present to defend it. Here the landing was effected, and the higher ground reached. When the small detachment came to oppose the force in possession, it was unable to resist the attack made upon it, and was beaten back.

Wolfe saw what had been effected by this movement, and directed the remainder of the force to support it. The cannon now played upon the men as the boats went forward, and they had to undergo a discharge of musketry within twenty yards. One boat was stove in and sunk, by which some grenadiers were drowned. Many boats were broken to pieces on landing, but the injury from the fire was not serious. Those who principally suffered were the sailors remaining in the boats.

Wolfe jumped into the surf, and struggled through the obstacles in his path to reach the shore. He had only his cane in his hand. He encouraged the men about him to press forward. As they came on shore he formed them, and led them to attack the force coming against them. It was a party of the grenadiers of Artois, which was immediately routed; the officer in command was wounded and taken prisoner, with several of his men.

The two other divisions followed and disembarked. The whole force was now placed in column, and an attack made on the foremost French pickets. They rapidly retreated, demoralized by the appearance of the British force in strength.

The landing had not been effected without loss; a great number of the boats were stove in, so that many men were bruised and hurt, and several crushed between the boats and rocks. No order could be followed in gaining the shore, the men wading through the swell; in many cases their muskets were wet with sea water. It was not until they reached the higher ground, that they could be formed with any regularity. The landing was a surprise to the French, for they had considered its attainment to be impossible, and they were so impressed by its success that they were seized by a panic and abandoned their works. They made no stand, but rapidly retreated to the fortress over ground described by Amherst as the roughest and worst he had ever known. In the attack they lost several killed, and several prisoners were taken; among the latter was an Indian chief.

The British pushed forward in pursuit, and as they came within range of the fortress they were received by a cannonade to protect the retreating force. It did little injury, and was so far advantageous that it determined the range of the guns, and pointed out where the troops could encamp in safety. The loss experienced by the British was, killed, three officers, 43 rank and file, many of whom were drowned ; five officers, 54 rank and file wounded. Of the provincial troops, an officer and three men were killed, two wounded and missing. Thirty-five guns and mortars remained as trophies of the day. They were gathered from along the shore, and were of various calibre, some of them 24-prs. These works were occupied in strength, to prevent any attempt at their re-possession.

The weather continued so unfavourable that the stores could not be landed ; it was only on the 11th that the tents and artillery were placed on shore. Until the force was strengthened by reinforcements and artillery it was in great danger. Had a well-directed sortie been made, the besiegers might have had difficulty in holding their ground ; the whole attention of the besieged, however, was given to making the fortress capable of resisting attack.

The battery on the north shore of the harbour commanding the entrance with forty heavy guns was abandoned, and, in order to prevent the guns being directed against the place, they were destroyed. All the outposts were called in ; the buildings burned ; nothing was left within two miles of the town except some chimneys and gable ends. There was a battery at the light-house point, at the eastern entrance to the harbour. It was likewise dismounted, and five spiked guns left behind.

On the 12th Wolfe was detached with 1,200 men to take possession of this post. Marching round the harbour, he obtained a knowledge of the north-eastern ground and the possibility of establishing batteries to attack the shipping. A road connecting the eastern and western works was included in the plan of attack. The guns and stores were landed at Laurentbec, at which place a large quantity of dried fish was found stored. The weather continued very bad and retarded the works; it was not until the 19th that the light-house battery was made effective, and batteries established on the northeast of the harbour to attack the shipping.

When the landing had been effected and the position of the attacking force fully established, it was foreseen that, although the defence might be prolonged for a few weeks, its ultimate surrender was inevitable. The admiral in command, the marquis Desgouttes, was desirous of sailing out of the harbour and making an attempt to save his ships: de Drucour, however, prevailed upon him to remain, so that the defence could be prolonged, and the British troops employed, and not be available to be taken elsewhere. The French commander had been given to understand that it was the intention of Montcalm to attack Abercrombie on the 15th of July. He considered that by this course he was weakening the strength of the British force.* The probability, however, is that, had the capitulation been made at an early date, the fleet and the transports would have immediately sailed for Quebec.

On the 13th, "l'Echo" frigate succeeded in escaping in the fog with despatches to Quebec, but she failed to pass through the British cruisers, and on the 19th was brought back a capture. It then became known that the "Bizarre" had left on the day of landing, and the "Comête" since that date.

The weather became more settled; accordingly, on the 16th, twelve days' provisions were landed from the store-ships. Some idea of the perilous difficulty experienced in getting the guns and stores on shore may be formed, when it is stated that upwards of one hundred boats were lost in the service.

Wolfe opened his batteries on the eastern side on the 20th. His attack from lighthouse point was directed against the island battery; the northeast battery played upon the shipping. On the 25th the firing was continued day and night on the island battery, which had constantly endeavoured to interrupt Wolfe's operations. It was now silenced: to some extent, owing to the imperfect construction of the defences, it had suffered from the discharge of its own guns.

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* Que. Doc., IV., p. 148.

The fortress was now exposed to bombardment from the sea. To prevent the entry of the British fleet, the French sunk four ships across the harbour ; a fifth was subsequently placed beside them. The effect of this proceeding was to cause the attack by land to be more vigorously pushed forward. It had been conducted under great obstacles. The weather remained unfavourable ; the surf made the landing of stores a work of danger. The roads necessary to the transport of artillery and the operations of the siege exacted great labour. They had to be carried across morasses and the roughest ground. The approaches, consequently, exacted more time than had been looked for.

On the 1st of July a sortie was attempted against the works on the northern side ; it was beaten back by the light infantry without injury to the besiegers. On the same day Wolfe took possession of the ground to the north of the " Barachois," and commenced raising works to attack the fortress from that direction. On the 3rd he was on the western side, directing the redoubts which were being constructed against the citadel bastion.

Hitherto there had been no interruption of the besiegers' works by the irregular troops. We learn from de Drucour that at the commencement of the siege there were only about 120 Acadians, with some few Indians.* After the landing, they mostly returned to their villages. Boishébert, with 400 Canadians and Indians, arrived in July. On the 8th they attacked the outposts, and were beaten back. They are not again heard of.

A more important sortie was attempted on the 9th against the right of the attacking line under brigadier Lawrence. It consisted of five pickets, supported by 600 men. Writers of the date represent the French troops to have been well supplied with liquor. They surprised in the trenches a company of Forbes' Highlanders, under the command of lord Dundonald, who was killed. Some of the men also fell, aud some were carried off as prisoners. Reinforcements coming up, the

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* [Que. Doc., IV., p. 148.]

French were driven off with some loss. On the following day they sent out a flag of truce so the dead could be buried: the only result arising from the attack.

There was no halt or hesitation in the completion of the British lines. There was perfect accord between the two services. The officers were zealous in discharge of their duty, the hardship was cheerfully undergone, and no labour was spared to effect the completion of redoubts by which the fortress was to be attacked from the western side.

Four batteries had been constructed on the Martissan heights to the west of the town; on the 16th of July, at seven in the evening, the British in force seized the heights, about 1,500 feet from the dauphin bastion. The French fired all night to dislodge them, but it was found at daylight that the British were well established. The spot was known as "*la hauteur de la justice*,"* where public executions took place. Owing to its threatening position, the previous year the level had been lowered seven feet. On the 17th the fire was opened from the four redoubts, and the defences greatly suffered. On the following days the fire was renewed with equal effect, by which the dauphin bastion was much injured. The guns of the fortress were in every way unequal to reply to the attack.

The extreme northern lines were subjected to the spirited attack of the frigate "l'Aréthuse," captain Vauclain, which took up a position by the "Barachois," and shelled the British working parties, and the fire was so effective as to require the construction of a long *épaulement* for their protection. This work was persevered in, until the completion of the attack against the dauphin gate, and the formation of a road between the eastern and western works. As "l'Aréthuse" could no longer be of any service in this attempt, it was determined to send her with despatches to France. She stole out of the harbour on the 15th, and escaped the cruisers, although rockets were thrown up from lighthouse point notifying the fleet that a vessel was endeavouring to run the blockade.

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* It may be translated in English by "Gallows hill."

The fire was persistently continued during the succeeding days. On the night of the 18th the second parallel was completed, and the batteries to the south of cape Noir were advanced. On the 19th the dauphin bastion had ceased to reply, while the British, although discharging but few bombs, continued a heavy fire. In the meantime the dauphin battery had been re-established. But the batteries of the besiegers had been pushed forward; one to the south attacking the queen's battery.

In these trying circumstances de la Houlière, who was in command of the land forces, organized a sortie of 1,500 men. It was proposed to place in position two of the vessels, so that their broadsides would be brought to bear upon the British works. De la Houlière, with 1,000 men, was to leave by the dauphin gate, to attack the batteries in front and flank. A force was to leave by the king's bastion to attack the right of the line. The sortie had been arranged for the night of the 22nd, but on the 21st, at half-past two in the afternoon, "le Celèbre" caught fire. It was not possible to extinguish the flames, and the fire was communicated by the sails of the vessel to the masts and rigging of "l'Entreprenant," and by her carried to "le Capricieux." No sailor was lost in the vessels, but many were killed in the endeavour to extinguish the flames. The whole garrison was placed under arms, for the besiegers' firing was continued, and it was feared that an assault might be made. It was impossible to save the vessels, and in a short time they were entirely destroyed. The resolution was adhered to of attempting the sortie, but the movement was deferred, owing to the necessity of guarding against the danger of the remaining vessels taking fire from the floating burning hulls.

On the following day two batteries in the neighbourhood of cape Noir were opened: one mounted with thirteen 24-prs; another of seven mortars. They were brought to bear upon the citadel. Adjoining was a stone structure, which contained the quarters of the officers and the barracks of the men. A part of the building was assigned as the governor's residence.

The chapel was also in the building. At eight in the morning a shell set the barracks on fire. The governor's residence with difficulty was saved. It was only by great effort that the flames were subdued, and it was not until three in the afternoon that they were extinguished. The whole garrison was kept under arms, and upwards of forty men were killed when engaged in this duty. All this continuous effort led to the men being worn out by fatigue. They were denied any rest. The bombardment went on uninterruptedly: the fire was persevered in during the night, for the moon was bright, "as clear as day."* At four o'clock a large portion of the dauphin battery had been displaced, and had fallen away. The troops were still kept available to be turned out at a moment's notice. On the 23rd the queen's battery was placed *hors de service.* The barracks, shattered by bombs, gave no protection to the soldier; the troops were driven out to find refuge where they could obtain it; where there was shelter from the cannon. Thirty-five were carried to hospital before two o'clock. The king's battery was the only one which held out. There was an attempt on the night of the 23rd to repair the dauphin bastion, for the broken material rose two feet higher than the level of the water in the ditch. Between eleven and twelve the British commenced throwing bombs filled with explosives. The wooden barracks at the queen's bastion caught fire; there were several wooden houses in the neighbourhood, and fears were entertained that they could not escape. If they had once taken, the whole town, which was mostly of wood, would have been consumed, and the fire would have reached the hospital and the magazines. By demolishing some houses the conflagration was stopped; fortunately, a change of wind permitted the fire to be kept within some limit. The garrison again passed the night under arms. On the 24th another battery was opened against the king's bastion; in a short time the whole line of defences along the covered way, except the princess bastion at cape Noir, was silenced. An attempt was made to reply to the attack, but from daybreak of the

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* "Aussi claire que le jour." Que. Doc., IV., p. 181.

25th a continuous heavy fire was directed against the fortress. As night came on, an attempt was again made to repair the bastions. On the morning of the 26th, at half-past one, there was a heavy fog, and a loud commotion was heard in the harbour. The cannon from the British lines was still fired to command the attention of the wearied and jaded French troops, and with the purpose of concealing the operations by the navy against the two remaining vessels in the harbour: one of the most gallant acts during the war.

Between twelve and one, boats containing six hundred seamen left the ships, under captain Leforey, and rowed for the harbour, with the design of cutting out the two French vessels, "le Prudent" and "le Bienfaisant": all that remained of the magnificent fleet of two months previously. No such attack had been looked for; the crews made little resistance, and the shots fired from the quays towards the boats were of little effect. Both ships were taken. "Le Prudent" grounded as she was being towed away; as it was found impossible to float her, she was burned. "Le Bienfaisant" was taken to the north-west harbour and anchored there.*

The harbour was now open for ships to sail into its waters, and bombard the town and fortress, with scarcely any resistance. There was no lull in the land attack. Early in the morning the four pieces from the battery on the height, *la hauteur de justice*, were turned against the dauphin bastion, and the effect was most damaging. The besieged were indeed in a desperate condition. The hospital was full of wounded; those who continued on duty were worn out with fatigue, by labour which never ceased, and from the necessity of constantly remaining in readiness to withstand an assault. The enemy was increasing the batteries, and advancing them nearer to the place ; it was also plain to the besieged, that as these efforts were on all sides successful, so the greater energy and perseverance were shewn. The bastions were in ruins, most of the guns silenced ; the defence had been most gallant, and what raises it in character was its continuance in the face of almost certain failure. The feeling must have been general, that unless some extraordinary event intervened, such as a tempest shattering the fleet, the surrender of the fortress was only a question of time. The force in front was so preponderating, that there could be no hope of relief from without, or of a successful resistance within. The defence, nevertheless, lasted fifty-two days. Whatever the conditions of surrender, the defenders of Louisbourg yielded the fortress to its conquerors without any taint of dishonour.*

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* Of the ships in the harbour, "le Prudent," 74, was burnt by the boats of the fleet under captains Leforey and Balfour. "L'Entreprenant," 74, was blown up and burnt by shot from the marine battery. "Le Capricieux" and "le Célèbre," both 64, were burnt through catching fire from "l'Entreprenant." "Le Bienfaisant," 64, was taken by the boats and towed to the northeast harbour. The "Apollo," 50, and the three frigates "Chèvre," "Biche" and "Fidèle" were sunk by the enemy across the mouth of the harbour. The "Diana," 36, was taken by her majesty's ship "Boreas." The "Echo," 26 guns, was taken by the "Juno," Thus the whole French fleet was destroyed.

On the morning of the 26th a council of war was called. A memoir of the engineer Franquet was read, when the capitulation was unanimously resolved. The aide-major, de Lopineau, was sent to the British camp. He there met both Boscawen and Amherst. They replied in writing, giving the garrison one hour to capitulate as prisoners of war.†

When the council met to consider this communication, as one man * the opinion was expressed that the terms could not be accepted, and that it was better to withstand the general assault. Lieut.-colonel Daubenay, of the "*Volontaires étrangers*," was dispatched to the British lines to ask for a similar capitulation to that granted to the garrison at Minorca. Daubenay returned with the written reply, that the British commanders had nothing to change in the terms offered. Again the council met, and it was resolved that it was preferable to meet the British with arms in their hands, than accept such conditions, upon which de Drucour wrote back that he had to reïterate that his demands were the same, and that he continued in the first manner of thinking.†

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* The defence lasted from the 4th of June to the 26th of July. De la Houlière, who was in command of the land force, in a letter to the minister of the 6th of August [Que. Doc., IV., p. 176], gives a graphic and detailed account of the siege from the 16th of July. The British general he mentions as Kamberk.

† The following is the letter sent by the British commanders to de Drucour :

"In answer to the proposal I have just now had the honour to receive from your excellency by the sieur Loppinot, I have only to tell your excellency that it hath been determined by his excellency admiral Boscawen and me, that his ships shall go in to-morrow to make a general attack upon the town. Your excellency knows very well the situation of the army and the fleet, and as his excellency the admiral, as well as I, is very desirous to prevent the effusion of blood, we give your excellency one hour after receiving this to determine either to capitulate as prisoners of war, or take upon you all the consequences of a defence against the fleet and army.

BOSCAWEN,
JEFF. AMHERST."

When this determination was formed, Franquet with de la Houlière examined the ground to select the spot where the last stand should be made. It appeared to them that it could best be attempted at the princess battery, the nearest to cape Noir. The report of what was happening came to the ears of Prévost, the commissary-general. He lost no time in seeing de Drucour. He dwelt on the miseries to which the inhabitants of the town and the sick in hospital would be exposed by a hopeless resistance, for the superiority of the enemy's force removed every chance of success. Were it otherwise he would have been silent, but as matters stood, to take the desperate course resolved upon would only cause the useless sacrifice of the lives of gallant men on a point of military honour. There were 4,000 souls of the families of the inhabitants, 1,000 to 1,200 sick in hospital or in tents. All these would be exposed to blood and carnage, to the horrors committed by an unbridled soldiery in a pretended resentment for what had taken place in Canada. The allusion is here to the events at William Henry of the previous year, and to the attraction of plunder. It was, continued Prévost, not merely the question of cape Breton, which might be looked upon as lost to the king of France, but some consideration should be given to the other colonies of the kingdom. For if Louisbourg suffered a cruel fate, the memory of it would act as a terror to deter merchants from carrying on commerce with the colonies, and would prevent the workman and the husbandman from proceeding to them. It might be a matter of military duty to make such a stand, and he was not surprised that it should be contemplated. Both the governor and himself, however, were charged with the civil administration of the colony, and they had from that position to consider the view he had felt it his duty to express.*

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* "d'une seule voix."

† qu'il leur réitéroit, que son parti ètait le même, et qu'il persistoit dans la première façon de penser. Que. Doc., IV., p. 185.

His intervention had the effect hoped for. He influenced de Drucour to send a messenger after M. de Lopineau, who had been entrusted with the letter, and to recall him. Whatever the cause, the latter had not proceeded any great distance ; indeed, he had only reached the covered way, so he was easily overtaken. The letter was withdrawn, and Daubenay, who understood English well, was sent in company with de Lopineau to obtain what modification of the conditions offered were possible ; in a word, the best terms which would be granted by the British commanders. The latter, however, adhered to the views expressed in their first letter, but some consideration was shewn with regard to the inhabitants. At noon the French officers returned with the reply they had obtained. No course was open to de Drucour but its acceptance. There were, as Prévost had stated, 1,200 soldiers and sailors wounded and sick in tents and in the hospital. The walls were in ruins ; and the batteries of the besiegers were becoming daily more effective from their strength. De la Houlière describes them as armed with forty-two mortars from 25 to 30 inches ; and sixty-five cannon, 36-prs. and 24-prs. While this attack of heavy guns is explanatory of the damaged condition of the fortress, it speaks forcibly of the energy and labour which had been called forth in landing them in the heavy surf, and had carried them over the morass, to the commanding position of the British lines.

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* "Représentations faites à M. le chevalier de Drucour au conseil de guerre tenu à Louisbourg le 26th juillet, 1758," par M. Prévost, commissaire-général de la marine, ordonnateur à l'île Royale. Dussieux, p. 327.

The articles of capitulation were signed before midnight. They stipulated that the garrison should surrender as prisoners of war, and be sent to England in British ships; that the artillery, provisions and arms in the islands of cape Breton and of île Saint Jean (Prince Edward island) should be surrendered; the troops stationed there to embark in vessels sent for them; dauphin gate was to be given over at eight o'clock on the morning of the 27th to a British force; the garrison and all carrying arms to assemble on the esplanade, and there lay down their arms, colours and insignia of war, to be constituted prisoners of war, to proceed on board ship to be transported to England; the sick were to be cared for; the non-combatants to be allowed to return to France. The number of prisoners which surrendered was 5,637, with 221 cannon and 18 mortars, with a considerable quantity of ammunition and stores.

Early on the morning of the 27th major Farquhar took possession of the west gate, and brigadier Whitmore with a strong force marched to the esplanade to receive the surrender. It was not only by the gate that entry could be obtained. The walls were so battered that there were two different spots at which access could be had over the heaps of stone and material. Sentries were placed at these openings to prevent the pillage of the town by the camp followers always present on such occasions.

The French troops assembled on the esplanade, gloomily grounded their arms, and marched to the boats to be taken on shipboard. The besieging force took possession of the town and fortress. Brigadier Whitmore was appointed governor, and the British flag was hoisted from the citadel, proclaiming that the contest was ended.

The news of the conquest was carried to England by captain Amherst, the general's brother. At the same time he was the bearer of the eleven French standards which had been surrendered. They were received by the king as material tokens of victory. With great parade, and a large escort, drums beating and trumpets sounding, they were borne from Kensington palace to St. Paul's, and there deposited, during a salute of artillery, and the most animated demonstrations of public joy. The conquest of Louisbourg was indeed the first gleam of triumph reflected on the British arms in America. Hitherto there had been a series of reverses, and so distinguished a success was not only to be looked upon as a new national honour; it was a promise of future victory. It had struck a blow at French power on the western continent in its most vital part, the end of which, although not foreseen, was looked for with confidence and hope. All classes in London expressed their unmistakeable satisfaction. The court, the legislature, men of learning and science, the corporated merchants, the prosperous tradesmen, the struggling populace, were in accord as to the importance of the event. The sentiment was participated in by the great provincial towns. The feeling arose that the country was emerging from the condition of sloth and despondency into which it had been sunk by political venality, and the want of honesty and ability of the governing classes. The victory was not regarded alone as the triumph of bravery and endurance. It gave assurance of a wiser government, of a more honest administration of affairs; that merit and worth would obtain recognition. It was believed and hoped that the national dignity had ceased to be the plaything of incompetence and unscrupulousness. The material advantages were on all sides admitted. The fortress had been destroyed, the very establishment of which was a threat to New England, which existed with the avowed intention of paralyzing her commerce and destroying her fisheries, and of finally regaining Nova Scotia; to be re-named the Acadia of former days. All these probabilities had passed away with the uprooting of the power which had projected them.

Boscawen was a member of the imperial parliament. On taking his seat he received the thanks of the house of commons, which had been voted to him in common with Amherst: their names are the only two specified, those of Wolfe and the other brigadiers not appearing. Amherst further received the appointment of governor of Virginia, an office which in those days was regarded as a sinecure. The duties were performed by the lieutenant-governor, and residence in England followed as a matter of course. Amherst, regarding it as a reward for his military services, accepted the appointment with the understanding that he was not personally to administer the government.*

In 1760 Louisbourg was demolished, its fortifications, as far as possible, razed to the ground. Their site can still be traced by the mounds which show where the bastions once stood, and by the imperfect lines which mark the direction of the streets. Some fishermen's huts have been constructed near the ocean, and some houses are on the hills. They are the only memorials of the scene I have attempted to describe. Everything of value was taken away. The boucharded stones of any account were afterwards used in the public buildings of Halifax. The wisdom of the step is manifest. On the one hand it prevented the re-occupation of the fortress by the French, by a second treaty of cession, and as a port Louisbourg is not of paramount value to British America. No two naval stations such as Halifax and Louisbourg are required by the same power. Even if the sea voyage, by landing at Louisbourg, be shortened some one hundred and fifty miles, the gut of Canso has to be crossed before the main land is reached ; it is about a mile and a half wide, with a rapid current. So little time is gained by the preference of Louisbourg to Halifax, that it would be difficult to-day to advocate its re-establishment, either on the ground of military or commercial requirements. The decision of the able men who doomed it to destruction at the time of the conquest will still be remembered, if wisdom and honesty govern the public councils in the dominion.*

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* Five years after the treaty of Paris, in 1768, Amherst was called upon to resign the position, objections having been raised in the province against his non-residence. On the ground that the office had been given as a reward for services, he claimed that it should be replaced by other emoluments. After much unpleasantness, which affected even his relations with the king, Amherst's representations were admitted, and he was appointed governor of Guernsey. He became eventually the recipient of higher honours, including a peerage, and the appointment of commander-in-chief.

In America the feeling of satisfaction was equally strong. There was great rejoicing in the cities of Boston, New York and Philadelphia. The certain benefit which the destruction of the fortress conferred on New England was known and felt, but by all account it would have been preferred if it had been effected by New England troops, whereas it was entirely an imperial triumph: a debt of safety obtained through the intervention of the mother country. It is not possible to set out of view the fact that at this date there was a strong desire in the American provinces to be independent of all home control: even when their very existence depended on the power which Great Britain would put forth to maintain them. Until the taking of Louisbourg, French encroachments to narrow the colonial territory to the Allagheny had not been a mere visionary dread. It was British power which alone assured the nationality of the American colonist; which stayed the depredation on his commerce on the ocean, imposed a limit on the encroachment of France from the north towards New England, and on the west towards Albany and Philadelphia, both so long and so powerfully threatened. It was the first act in the final drama, in which the British colonist was to become the undisputed master of North America.

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* It was not until the 1st of June, 1760, that the uninterrupted destruction of the works was commenced under captain Muckett, of the company of miners, assisted by working parties from the infantry, of strength varying, according to the work, from 160 to 220 daily. The miners and artificers numbered a little over 100. The whole work was completed on the 10th of November, 1760, there having been only two days' intermission besides Sundays, one being the king's birthday and the other being midsummer's day. The reason for keeping this latter day is thus mentioned in a MS. diary of the mining operations at Louisbourg, now in the royal artillery office, which belonged to sir John Seymour: "According to tradition among the miners, Midsummer was the first that found out the copper mines in Cornwall, for which occasion they esteem this a holy day and all the miners come from below ground to carouse and drink to the good old man's memory."

[History of the royal regiment of artillery, by major Francis Duncan, R.A., pp. 203-4.]

The order for the destruction of Louisbourg was sent by Pitt to Amherst on the 9th of February, 1760. It was communicated by Amherst to Whitmore on the 23rd of April, captain Ruvyne being specially sent from New York to superintend the work of demolition. [Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 93.1, p. 190.]

MADAME DE DRUCOUR.

It is generally stated that Mde. de Drucour showed great courage during the siege, frequently visiting the soldiers to encourage them, especially the gunners, and that daily she herself fired off three cannons. I can find no authority for this beyond Pichon, who relates the fact in his "*Lettres et Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire naturelle, civile et politique du cap Breton, depuis son établissement jusqu' à la reprise de cette isle par les Anglais en* 1758." This book was published in London in 1760, and in Paris in 1761. It is written to convey the idea that the writer was present during the siege. The statement is also repeated by the Abbé Raynal in his "*Histoire Philosophique,*" first published in 1774 at the Hague. Raynal cannot therefore be accepted as an authority. No weight can be attached to Pichon's statement. He was taken prisoner at the siege of Beauséjour, and remained in Halifax until 1758, when he went to London, to remain in England until the year of his death, 1781.

I am especially led to doubt the fact, because it is not mentioned by Wolfe, for in a letter to his mother he relates that he paid a visit to the ladies. "I went into Louisbourg this morning to pay my devoirs to the ladies, but found them all so pale and thin with long confinement in a casemate, that I made my visit very short. The poor women have been heartily frightened, as well they might, but no real harm, either during the siege or after it, has befallen any." [Wright's Wolfe, p. 446.] Could any extraordinary statement have been made regarding Mde. de Drucour, Wolfe would have mentioned it to his mother, for he was fond of giving her news. Pichon makes another statement, [p. 381], which also partakes of the marvellous. He tells us that after the surrender was resolved upon, the evening before the British took possession, the French soldiers without restraint were permitted to plunder the king's stores, and that the whole night the priests were busy marrying the young girls to anyone willing to accept the responsibility of wedlock, the object being to prevent them becoming the wives of the heretic conquerors. The abbé Raynal does not record this statement.

BOOK XIII.

FROM THE TAKING OF LOUISBOURG TO THE CAPTURE OF QUEBEC: 1759.

CHAPTER I.

When the expedition against Louisbourg was organized, no long resistance was anticipated, and it was the plan of the campaign that, after the conquest of cape Breton, the fleet, without delay, should sail to the attack of Quebec, but much happened that was unforeseen. Campaigns on paper, made in the quiet of an office, even when carefully and wisely considered, invariably change much of their character in the field. The siege exacted longer time than had been foretold. The most sanguine of those who urged the expedition had counted upon a quiet sea, and believed that, with an attacking force of sufficient strength, but few days of resistance would be experienced. The greatest cause of difficulty and delay proved to be the stormy weather; the defence at the same time had been obstinate, and it was not until the end of July that the capitulation was made. The first impulse of the conquerors was to sail to Quebec; a few days consideration shewed the design to be impracticable. Indeed, the surrender of the fortress was only preliminary to the further movement of troops to assure the occupation of the territory ceded, and in the midst of this irresolution the news arrived of the repulse of Abercrombie before Ticonderoga, which I have shortly to relate.*

When Abercrombie heard of Amherst's success, he wrote, to learn his intention with regard to the campaign. Amherst replied that he was unable then to judge, but hoped it would be "found practicable to get to Quebec, which is what I wish much to do;" † a statement so far important, as it shews the design was entertained in 1758.

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* The news came at the close of the siege. Wolfe mentions it in his letter to his father on the day of the surrender, the 27th of July. [Wright, p. 448.]

† Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., 87, II., p. 355.

It was well known in Louisbourg, that if the fleet was to sail for the saint Lawrence, no time could be lost. There was really but fifteen weeks available before the commencement of a Canadian winter. Wolfe, whose feelings were strong on the point, in his letters dwelt upon this necessity, and on the 6th of August he brought the matter to the notice of Amherst. The latter admitted that the season was indeed passing away, and he added that he had spoken of the expedition to the admiral, who "seemed to think it impracticable." Wolfe accordingly offered his services to proceed with reinforcements to Abercrombie, "whose army is cut deep." The reply of Amherst * was to the effect that it had been his intention to proceed with the entire force to Quebec, which he was still convinced was the best that could be done, but in consequence of the unlucky affair at Ticonderoga, it was advisable to reinforce Abercrombie with five or six battalions. He would also send some regiments to the bay of Fundy, and detach a force to the gulf of Saint Lawrence. Wolfe had written that if nothing further had to be done, he must ask leave to quit the army. Amherst could in no way agree to the request, as Wolfe's assistance was indispensable in the operations for the good of his majesty's service.

There was no delay in the removal of the French garrison, and in the occupation of the territory ceded in the capitulation: by the month of August the French troops, with the private persons desirous of returning to France,† were embarked on board the vessels which were to carry them first to England. ‡

Steps were taken to assure the possession of ile Saint Jean (prince Edward island); lord Rollo was sent with the 35th regiment and two battalions of the 60th, to receive the island from the governor, de Villegouin, who, with the garrison, was placed on board the transports. This island had only risen

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* Chatham Correspondence I., p. 332.

† Of the 2,400 French inhabitants of cape Breton, independently of the garrison, 1,700, in accordance with their desire, were sent to France; the remainder continued in the island, and accepted the new government.

‡ Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., 87.2, p. 363.

into importance within the last ten years. Its greatest length is 130 miles; its greatest breadth, 34 miles: in its narrowest part, towards the centre, it is but four miles wide. At the time of Law, in 1719, a company was formed to develop the fisheries and to place settlers on the land. The count de Saint-Pierre, first equery of the duchess of Orleans, was the chief personage of the project: at the same time he obtained the concession of the Magdalen islands and of ile Miscou. The enterprise failed, and ile Saint Jean ceased to attract attention.

After the treaty of Utrecht, de Saint Ovide took steps to establish the Acadian population on the island: nevertheless, in 1720, there were only seventeen families, numbering about one hundred of a population. During the following fifteen years the number only increased to 541. In 1749, there were about 1,000 souls.* The capture of Beauséjour and the deportation of the Acadians in 1755 led to several of the latter seeking a home there. When lord Rollo took possession of the island, there was a population of 4,100 souls.† He describes the farms as being in good order, some of them yielding annually 1,200 bushels of wheat: he found 10,000 head of cattle on the island. The principal market for its produce had hitherto been Louisbourg; there had also been

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* Canadian census 1870–71, p. 22.

† It was reported by lord Rollo as follows:—

Point le Prince	700
St. Peter's	700
North point	500
N. E. River	2,000
West and North River	200
	4,100

The last-named places were settlements on the waters leading to the present city of Charlottetown. Point le Prince is evidently intended for point Prim. The whole of these waters was known as port la Joye by the French. The Acadian families which remained soon abandoned the island. In 1764 the surveyor-general, captain Holland, wrote to the earl of Hillsborough: "There are about thirty Acadian families on the island, who are regarded as prisoners, and kept on the same footing as those at Halifax. They are extremely poor, and maintain themselves by their industry in gardening, fishing, fowling, etc."

some intercourse with Quebec in the supply of corn and beef. The island had exercised the mischievous function of furnishing an asylum to the Nova Scotian Micmacs, and to such of the Acadians who, disguised as savages, participated in their expeditions. It was but a few hours' paddle or sail from any part of the main land ; and inroads into Nova Scotia, efficiently organized, could be easily made. Lord Rollo found the trophies of these expeditions in the form of several scalps of the Nova Scotian colonists, and of soldiers of the garrison caught away from their barracks. They were a portion of the ornaments which decorated the governor's residence.

Rollo's instructions were to follow the policy observed with regard to the civil inhabitants of Louisbourg : to send back to France such as were not desirous of becoming British subjects, and to permit those to remain who were willing to swear allegiance. Rollo had to deal with the compound of national and religious feeling, which, even under favourable circumstances, had refused to accept British sovereignty ; but this bitterness of sentiment had been exasperated by the sufferings which the Acadians had undergone. The population was with few exceptions Acadian. About 1,500 were embarked on transports to be carried to France. On the northern part of the island several French sloops, some of which were armed, received many of the inhabitants and their effects, and carried them to Canada and Miramichi. There was little attempt to interfere with these operations : had such been the policy, the naval force was of sufficient strength to have driven off these vessels. Owing to some of the parishes being far distant from the place of embarkation, the inhabitants failed to reach the ships, aud they remained on their farms without interference.* On the completion of a fort, so that the garrison could be placed in safety, lord Rollo returned to Louisbourg, and the island was placed under government of Nova Scotia.†

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* Lieutenant Leslie to Wolfe, 30th Oct., 1758, Chatham correspondence, I., p. 384.

† The official proclamation was not issued until 7th October, 1763, after the

Major Dalling was sent with a strong detachment to port d'Espagnol, now Sydney, to hold the harbour, to prevent the establishment of an Acadian population, which would refuse to take the oath of allegiance.

Three hundred regulars and some rangers landed at cape Sable under major Morris to break up a settlement of Acadians which had commenced to be troublesome; two armed vessels were stationed off the shore to prevent escape by canoes. Captain Goreham surprised and took prisoners between sixty and seventy men, women and children, who, with a Roman catholic priest named Desenclaves,* were sent to Halifax.

Monckton, with the 35th, the 2nd battalion Royal Americans, some rangers and artillery, sailed for the Saint John.† He landed with his force without opposition, and took possession of the fort which had been abandoned, and hoisted the British colours. He subsequently heard that two hundred Indians had been awaiting his arrival. Their chief would not allow them to fire; so their priest, father Germain, expecting "*quelques coups de trahison*" on their part, marched them off to Canada. The site of the fort was objectionable, inasmuch as it

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treaty of Paris. In November, 1798, an act was passed to change the name to prince Edward island, in honour of the duke of Kent, father of her majesty, who had arrived there during the year. The royal consent was obtained on the 1st of February, 1799, and was promulgated by the lieut.-governor Fanning on the 13th of June, 1799.

* Jean Baptiste Desenclaves originally arrived from France in 1728; he had, therefore, been thirty years in the country. He had seen the mischievous interference of the priests with the political condition of the Acadians, and from his moderation he was disliked by Le Loutre and his successor, father Germain. Owing to a letter of Desenclaves to Mascarene, which affirmed that "ye Spiritual to be so connected with the temporal as sometimes not to be able to be divided." Mascarene replying in a friendly spirit [2 June, 1741, Nova Scotia Archives, pp. 111–112], pointed out that the "missionaries have too often usurped the power to make themselves the sovereign judges and arbitrators of all causes amongst the people," . . . so as "to render themselves the only distributors of justice amongst people bred up in ignorance," adding "that this is one of the blocks on which I have often forewarned you not to stumble." In 1759 Desenclaves was a prisoner with other Acadians in Massachusetts.

† Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., 87.2, p. 397.

was overlooked by some high ground from which it could be attacked. On the other hand, it was convenient for landing, and commanded the harbour. Its possession was therefore maintained; it received the name of fort Frederick, and six hundred men were set to work to place it in repair.

As the vessels in which Monckton had arrived drew too much water to ascend the river, some sloops of light draught and whale boats were obtained from fort Cumberland. On the 21st of October Monckton passed his vessels above the falls; in doing so, however, the sloop "Ulysses" was wrecked, and the crew was only saved with difficulty. Leaving captain Bellew in charge of the fort, Monckton embarked his force, 1,200 strong, and with a fortnight's provisions. He reached Grimrosse, on the western bank above Jemseg. It was a settlement of forty or fifty houses, occupied by inhabitants who had escaped from Beauséjour. On the appearance of the troops they took to the woods. The houses were burned. Some fifty hogsheads of lime were found; they were recognized as part of the cargo of a schooner bound for fort Cumberland, taken by a privateer fitted out, it was believed, at this place. At ile Mettis, higher up the river, some canoes laden with corn were discovered. The corn was taken for use and the canoes burned. Monckton endeavoured to ascend beyond this point, but the vessels ran aground, and it was found impossible to proceed, so he returned towards the fort, destroying Jemseg and all the houses on the banks as he descended the river.

Major Scott with the light infantry and rangers were sent to the river Petitcodiac to uproot the settlements there, and to destroy some privateers which had been mischievous, and which had, it was reported, taken refuge in the river. Scott found a schooner and a sloop of this character in two different creeks at the head of the stream; at the same time he made prisoners of thirty men, women and children. The houses were all empty; they had, however, the appearance of having been lately evacuated. They were burned, with much grain, and the cattle killed. The houses and barns were numbered at one hundred and fifty. Many of the inhabitants remained lurking in the woods, and a lieutenant and three men of the force, straggling from the main body, were seized and carried away.

Monckton sailed for Boston on the 17th of November, leaving a garrison of three hundred men in the fort under major Morris.

A few months later, an expedition was undertaken up the river Saint John against the settlers above the point reached by Monckton. On the 19th of February a detachment started, under the command of captain McCurdy. As he was killed by the fall of a tree, lieutenant Hazzen assumed command, and proceeded to the attack of the settlements above Saint Anne (Fredericksburg). Some resistance was experienced, when six of the French were killed, and six taken prisoners; five escaped. Hazzen burned upwards of one hundred houses with other buildings, and killed the cattle, so as to make the continuance of settlement impossible. Thus the whole valley of the Saint John was freed from the presence of any of the Acadian population. Some of the young men, who were established there, had escaped from Annapolis in 1755.*

Wolfe was ordered to Gaspé with the 15th, the 28th, and the 58th regiments: he sailed on the 29th of August. The fleet convoying this strong detachment consisted of seven ships of the line and three frigates, under sir Charles Hardy. On the 30th of September Wolfe reported from Louisbourg that he had fulfilled the duty intrusted to him. The instructions he received were to ascend the Saint Lawrence river and destroy the settlements along the banks, in order to disturb the minds of the enemy at Quebec, and to pave the way for a definite expedition in the spring. Not a serious duty, as Wolfe wrote his father,† to rob the poor fishermen of their nets and to burn their huts. When reporting its accomplishment to Amherst, Wolfe describes the equipment as "improper for the business; and the numbers, unless the squadron had gone up the river, quite unnecessary." "We have done a great deal of mischief," he continues, "spread the terror of his majesty's arms through the whole gulf, but have added nothing to the reputation of them."

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* Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 89.2, p. 455.

† 21st August 1758. Wright, p. 455.

If Wolfe dealt sternly with the property and the provisions he was to destroy, he was careful that the inhabitants were treated with consideration, and in no way abused or personally injured. There were large quantities of dried fish in the stores, "30,000 lbs. of the finest dried cod." It is to be presumed that it was eaten by the men of the expedition. The magazines were stored with corn, dried fish and barrelled eels, designed for transportation to Quebec. The supplies, which could not be brought away, were burned with the buildings. The main object of the expedition was to alarm the government for the safety of Quebec, so that the troops should be disposed to be available for its defence, and not marched against Abercrombie. This service over, Wolfe returned to Louisbourg, and sailed thence in the "Namur" with Boscawen for England, to arrive there on the 1st of November.

There is a passage in Wolfe's life in connection with this voyage to Gaspé which, from his personal eminence, and as the protagonist in the conquest of Canada, in my humble view, may be regarded as a part of the history of the time. By Amherst's instructions, Wolfe was ordered on his return to proceed to Halifax, where, writes Amherst, "I imagine you will receive orders from England." A postscript is added, "As you tell me that by your letter of service when you left England, you think yourself authorized to return to England as soon as the siege of Louisbourg is over, you will leave the above orders with the eldest officer whenever you think proper to go after your return from the river St. Lawrence." The orders in question were the destruction of the settlements at Gaspé.

From what follows it is plain that, in spite of this friendly communication, Amherst sent an unofficial communication to Pitt, announcing Wolfe's proposed return, and strongly opposing it. It is not an incident to throw a favourable light on Amherst's character, for he privately conveyed information which undoubtedly created a prejudice in Wolfe's disfavour. The consequence was that a letter was written from the war office on the 2nd of October to Wolfe, giving him positive orders not to return to England, which can only be read as the language of censure.* The letter was not received by Wolfe until the following year at Louisbourg, when he was on the point of starting for Quebec, and he replied to it from the "Neptune at sea," on his way thither. His emphatic protest against this treatment must be read with deep sympathy, and with no ordinary interest, especially when the circumstances under which it was written are brought to our minds. The date is within a trifle more than three months of his death, when on his way to achieve the triumphal service which has made his name immortal.

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* The following is the text of Lord Barrington's letter and Wolfe's reply :—

"2nd October, 1758.

"Sir,—Mr. Secretary Pitt having acquainted me that he finds by a letter from General Amherst that you had told the general that you thought yourself authorized by your letter of service, dated 23rd January last, to return to England as soon as the siege of Louisbourgh was over, that he was a stranger to any such power given to you, and was apprehensive of the greatest prejudice to the King's service in case you should, on your return to Hallifax from the expedition up the St. Lawrence, so interpret your letter of service and return to England accordingly without the King's orders for so doing. I am much surprised at this, there being no such meaning in the letter of service dated 23rd January last, which I wrote to you ; but to clear all doubt whencesoever it may arise, I do hereby signify to you His Majesty's pleasure that you do not return to England from America without farther orders from His Majesty or your superior officers there.

"BARRINGTON."

"To Brigadier Wolfe."

"My Lord,—Since my arrival in America, I have had the honour to receive two letters from your Lordship, one of old date, concerning my stay in this country, in answer to which I shall only say that the Marshal told me I was to return at the end of the campaign ; and as General Amherst had no other commands than to send me to winter at Halifax under the orders of an officer who was but a few months before put over my head, I thought it was much better to get into the way of service, and out of the way of being insulted ; and as the style of your lordship's letter is pretty strong, I must take the liberty to inform you that, tho' I should have been very glad to have gone with Gen. Amherst to join the army upon the lakes, and offered my services to carry reinforcements to Mr. Abercrombie, if Quebec was not to be attack'd, yet, rather than receive orders in the government of an officer younger than myself (tho' a very worthy man), I shou'd certainly have desir'd leave to resign my commission, for, as I neither ask nor expect any favour, so I never intend to submit to any ill-usage whatsoever.

* * *

"JAM. WOLFE."

"*Neptune* at sea, 6th June, 1759."

During the period that operations were being carried on against Louisbourg events had happened on the shores of lake Champlain, in the disputed territory between Canada and the state of New York, which, although without ultimate influence on the war, had added to the national exultation of the French, reawakened their hope, and cheered and encouraged them in their firm determination not only to defend New France from attack, but vigorously to extend its frontier. When Pitt had resolved to attack Canada, at all points he applied to the colonies to furnish 20,000 men, undertaking that the expense would be participated in by the imperial government. For the time the provinces were to clothe and furnish the pay of the soldier; the arms, camp equipage and provisions were to be supplied by the British government. The number of troops voted by the provincial legislatures was 17,480, of which number Massachusetts furnished two-fifths, 7,000 men.*

Pownall, then governor, showed great energy in the emergency and the province answered his powerful appeal. The number was not obtained entirely without difficulty, and in the other provinces many delays intervened. The troops were assembled towards the end of June; between the 7th and 20th 7,510 arrived from Massachusetts and Connecticut. Pownall established good discipline in the Massachusetts regiments.

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* The following is the detail of the levies :—

New Hampshire	800
Massachusetts	7,000
Rhode Island	1,000
Connecticut	5,000
New York	2,680
New Jersey	1,000
Total	17,480

He abolished the custom of officers acting as slop sellers and sutlers; he made efficient arrangement for the issue of clothing and necessaries, he recommended to Abercrombie to try any officer by court-martial who carried on "suttling." There was a great want of arms and tents. Abercrombie could obtain but a limited supply of the former, even by purchase; accordingly the old arms were sought out, and all that were available were repaired and placed in good condition. The tents were an easier matter; the material for them was purchased and they were made. The Hudson* furnished the channel of communication. It was necessary to provide boats for the navigation of lake George, which any expedition to Canada must descend. The work of constructing them was given to Bradstreet, who energetically carried out the duty. Fifteen hundred boats were necessary for the advance: by the end of May nine hundred were finished, and the remainder required little work for their completion. A special corps of eight hundred *bateau* men was raised; but only four hundred and fifty were enrolled, and the number wanting was partially supplied by volunteers from the regulars and provincials, and partially "pressed."

Owing to Abercrombie's repulse in the attack,† his name has been mercilessly dealt with by writers who have not investigated the causes of the reverse. He has, accordingly, come down to us with the reputation of being incompetent, inert and irresolute: even his personal courage has been called in question. However his generalship on this occasion may be censured, Abercrombie deserves no such blame. He was of the school of officers who meet difficulties by stubborn courage rather than by skilful combinations, and he certainly entirely misunderstood the character of the defences which he undertook to storm. His correspondence shews that he was an intelligent and efficient officer; in a position where his duty was plain, and a gallant obedience to orders the first essential, he would have acquitted himself with ability and credit. His generalship on this unfortunate day can only be remembered to his disadvantage, for it is a proof of his ignorance, and of his miscalculation of the character of the war in which he was engaged. His fault lay in attempting what was impossible. It is difficult to believe that the expedition was unprovided with artillery. But such was the case. This one fact was the cause of his misfortune; and it is the strongest censure which can be passed on a general, that his force was improperly constituted, owing to his want of foresight and intelligence. Some artillery is mentioned as being mounted on rafts, but the few guns were simply designed to cover the landing of the troops.*

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* There were three *portages* between Albany and fort Edward; the first, in certain seasons, six miles in length, never less than three, was between Half Moon, the mouth of the Mohawk, and Stillwater; the second, two miles above Saratoga, was a quarter of a mile long; the third, five miles higher up, opposite fort Miller, of four hundred yards.

† Some writers describe Abercrombie's failure as a "defeat." The proper word appears to me to be "repulse," there being a distinct difference, to my mind, in the meaning of the two expressions.

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* The fact is clearly proved by the state of the 29th June, a few days before the march of the troops to Ticonderoga.

Regulars.			
27th, Blakeney's		664	
42nd, Lord John Murray's		1,000	
44th, Abercrombie's		970	
46th, Thomas Murray's		665	
55th, Lord Howe's		683	
60th, 1st Battalion Royal Americans, Stanwix's		568	
60th, 4th Battalion, “ “ Prevost's		932	
Col. Gage's Light Infantry		403	
Rangers		520	
			6,405
Provincials.			
Massachusetts, Colonel Ruggles	449		
“ “ Doty	869		
“ “ Peebles	525		
“ “ William Williams	563		
“ “ Partridge, Lt. Infantry	442		
		2,848	
New York “ De Lancey		1,715	
New Jersey		922	
Connecticut		475	
			5,960

No artillery is named in the state as being present.

The force reported by Abercrombie in his despatch of the 12th of July is set forth as 6,367 regulars, 9,024 provincials, including *bateau* men.

In no quarter was there any theory expressed of its necessity, and it is to this deplorable want of judgment that the repulse must be traced. The incompetent engineer who accompanied the troops, on viewing the intrenchments from the height at the opposite side by the mouth of the river, pronounced that it was practicable to storm them. Abercrombie accepted the opinion. Had even the few guns with the expedition been brought up, and a breach made, that a storming party could have entered, it is not quite improbable that there would have been a different result.

Abercrombie was engaged from the 11th of May, when he arrived in Albany in the organization of the expedition. During this time the French continued active in their attacks of *la petite guerre*. Early in the month eighty Indians surprised the settlement on the German flats, and scalped thirty-two of the settlers, retreating before even their presence was known at the neighbouring fort, and the troops called out. Abercrombie arrived at fort Edward on the 9th of July, and lord Howe was placed in command at Half-way brook, with the 42nd, 44th, 55th, and four companies of rangers. It was known that many parties of the enemy were out, with the design of intercepting convoys. A party of 200 men was placed at each of the stations of the Half Moon, Stillwater, Saratoga, and fort Miller. A stockaded fort was constructed on the site of fort William Henry at lake George, with another work on the rising ground to the east. Brigadier Stanwix was posted at the carrying-place of the Mohawk with the four New York independent companies, 1,400 provincials, and a company of rangers.

Before commencing the campaign one duty was imperative, the establishment of the position of the troops who had been included in the capitulation of William Henry. The British authorities contended that the conditions had been broken by the French. A long correspondence took place between the respective commanders. Finally, on the 25th of June, 1758, Abercrombie issued a general order * from fort Edward, stating that the capitulation of the 9th of August had been "broke in a most notorious and flagrant manner, consequently major-general Abercrombie declares the terms of the capitulation 'null and void,' and the officers and soldiers included are empowered and commanded to serve as if no such capitulation had been made." The order was to be read at the head of every corps. Not only in Canada was the manifesto published, it was also made known to the army before Louisbourg.*

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* Can. Arch., Series W. & A. I., 87.2, p. 2.

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* Knox, I., p. 486.

CHAPTER II.

With the exception I have named, the absence of artillery, all accounts agree in the completeness with which the arrangements were made. When Montcalm engaged in the attack of Oswego and William Henry, he brought with him heavy guns, and it was owing to the service of his artillery that he had succeeded. Had his attempt been made without this provision, he would have fared no better than the opponent he repulsed at Ticonderoga. There was no great difficulty in moving the guns up the Hudson: the serious labour commenced at the first *portage* north of Albany, and after reaching fort Edward to carry them by land to lake George. The cannon, which had previously been at fort William Henry, had been taken or destroyed at the siege of 1757 by Montcalm.

Abercrombie has himself given an account of the embarkation. He tells us that the artillery, stores and provisions were placed on the rafts and *bateaux* on the morning of the 4th. I cannot discover that there were any other guns than those named as mounted on rafts to protect the landing. There were 900 *bateaux*, with 135 whale boats. The tents were struck at daybreak of the 5th. The numbers embarked were 6,367 regulars and 9,024 provincials including the *bateau* men. At five in the evening they reached Sabbath day point, 25 miles from the head of the lake, and the troops remained here five hours to rest, and to bring the expedition together. The start was again made at ten at night, and the boats reached the landing-place of the French position at ten in the morning of the 6th. There was no opposition to the landing.*

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* Lake George, visited for the beauty of its scenery, at the same time retains its historical interest. It has been frequently mentioned in this history. These

During June the attention of the French had been directed to Abercrombie's movements. The prisoners brought in by the partizan leaders gave the information that 20,000 men were being assembled. One circumstance had confirmed the opinion that a forward movement by the British force would be made. Wolf, a French officer who had been sent by de Vaudreuil with a party carrying a flag of truce on the subject of the exchange of prisoners, had been detained some days: a proceeding looked upon as unnecessary. It was therefore supposed that the step had been taken with the design of preventing his return, when he would undoubtedly have notified Montcalm of the preparations which he could not fail to have observed. Indeed, he only reached Carillon on the 10th, two days after the attack.

Montcalm arrived at Ticonderoga on the 30th of June. He ordered de Bourlamaque to occupy the ground where lake George discharges into the little river by which its waters descend to lake Champlain. De Bourlamaque was there encamped with the battalions of la Reine, Guienne and Béarn. Montcalm had established himself at the saw mill at the foot of the falls with the battalions of la Sarre and de Berry, placing two battalions on the left of the stream. The troops of the marine and the Canadian militia were quartered at the stone fort. His next duty was to select a spot for an intrenched camp. The engineer, M. de Pontleroy, was instructed to trace it out, and the second regiment of de Berry was set to the work of constructing it.

Lake George gradually narrows towards the south, until the little river by which it discharges itself is reached. The

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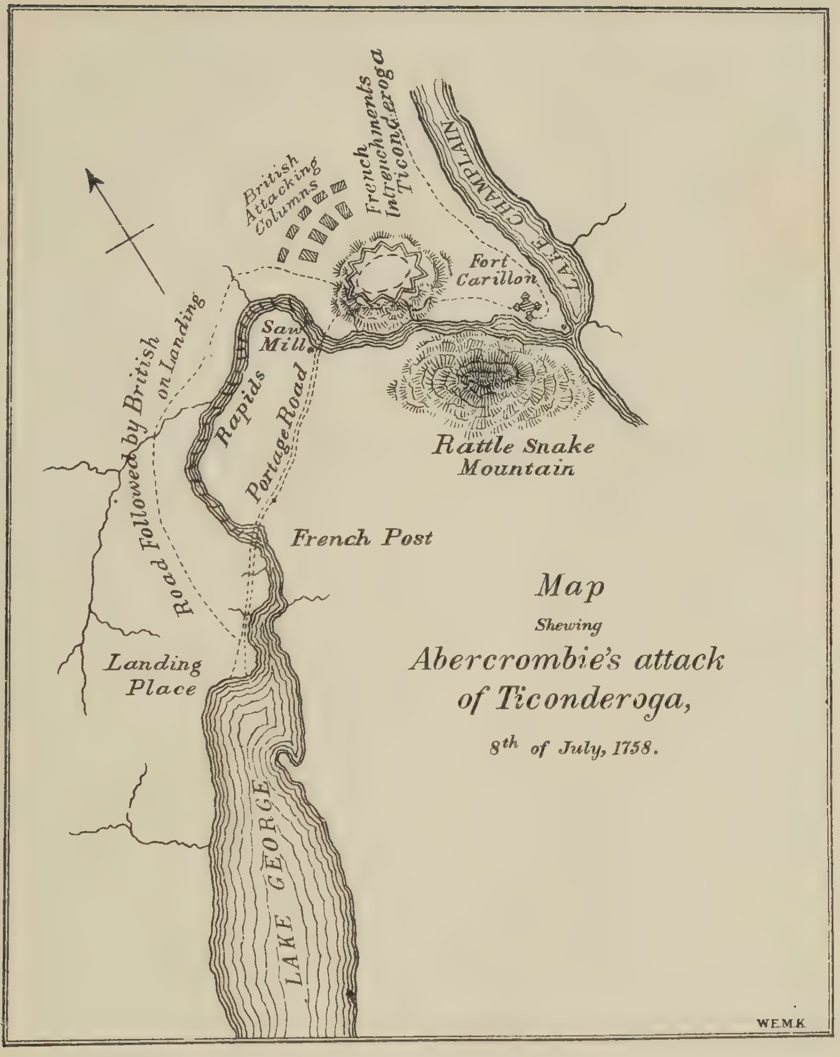
waters formed the route which the Iroquois followed in their irruption into Canada, after leaving the Hudson, where the *portage* was made. It was their route to lake Champlain and the Richelieu. It was originally known as the lac des Iroquois. "Horicon," as the lake is called on some maps, is evidently a corruption of this word. Jogues, who, in 1646, was killed in the neighbourhood, when on his journey to establish a mission [Ante, Vol. I., 189], described it as "lac du Sacrement," and it was so known by the French until the conquest. After the repulse of Dieskau by sir William Johnson, the name was changed to lake George, by which these waters are now only known.



Map
Shewing
Abercrombie's attack
of Ticonderoga,
8th of July, 1758.

rapids follow the half circumference of an irregular oval, and from the last fall, the water, with a slight current, runs smoothly into lake Champlain. The carrying-place was formed directly across the chord of the semi-oval, and was used as the travelled road by which the waters above the rapids were reached. Following the stream, the distance between the two lakes is about eight miles. There is about two miles of quiet water before the rapids commence. The latter are some three and a half miles in length, descending in the distance some 265 feet; the last fall is about 25 feet in height, and it was here that the saw mill had been built. The distance thence to lake Champlain is about two and a half miles by the stream.

The fort was constructed at the extreme point where the lake widens out from the discharge of Wood's creek, which has its source not far from the neighbourhood of fort Edward. The fort Carillon, commenced in 1755, was not perfectly completed, and was not defensible for any length of time against heavy artillery. The ruins still remain of the massive masonry, shewing that it was capable of resisting an ordinary attack. It must be borne in mind that the attack was not made on the fort, but on the intrenchment, 3,500 feet distant from it.

Parties of observation had been sent out to watch the lake, with instructions immediately to report any hostile movement.

On the evening of the 5th de Langy, who was in command, brought in the news of the British advance, and in consequence de Bourlamaque, at five in the evening, sent out a detachment of three hundred men, under the orders of captain Trépezet, to observe the enemy, and, if possible, to oppose the landing. On the approach of the armament, de Bourlamaque, seeing that with his force he would make no efficient resistance to Abercrombie, abandoned his position, and retreated upon Montcalm. Upon learning the strength of the British force, Montcalm passed over to the left bank of the river, and took ground at the new intrenchment, destroying the bridge in his march.

In the morning Trépezet sent for orders ; his messenger was taken prisoner, and did not return. Thus left to act as he best could, he endeavoured to join the main body, but in his march he found that the British columns had crossed his line of communication. He was without a guide, his Indians having abandoned him, and he lost his way.

It was under these circumstances that the landing of the British force had been made without opposition. The troops were immediately formed into four columns, the regulars in the centre, the provincials on the flanks.

A strong force was sent on to the carrying-place at the head of the rapids, where the French advance posts, composed of one battalion, had been established in a camp intrenched by a barricade of logs. The camp was deserted. The French had set it on fire, and endeavoured to destroy it. The attempt was imperfectly carried out, and many articles belonging to them had been left uninjured. One prisoner and a dead man were found in the camp.

The main body of the force advanced to the west of the small river through the woods, with the view of marching against the French position. The forest was filled with heavy timber and the brushwood was exceedingly thick, so that the passage of so large a body of men became very difficult, and the columns consequently were disorganized.

It was from this rapidity of movement of Abercrombie that the return of the French party was impeded. The advance guard of the British came unexpectedly upon them, it was the right centre column headed by lord Howe. There was an interchange of shots. Four only of the British force fell, among them lord Howe. The French, outnumbered, were immediately dispersed. They suffered severely : forty or fifty were killed, one hundred and forty-eight taken prisoners, among whom were five officers and three cadets. A mere remnant of the force only rejoined the main body.

The death of lord Howe was felt in every rank of the army. Abercrombie, even in his official report, speaks of the grief and consternation his fate called forth.* His character was much that of Wolfe. He was an ardent student of military science, and had the faculty of identifying himself with all ranks. He was particularly careful in showing consideration to the provincial officers. In social life his charm of manner was everywhere felt. No name is more affectionately remembered at this date in the United States. His reputation has survived him. Massachusetts, not forward in the admiration of imperial officers, erected a tablet to his memory in the south aisle of the nave in Westminster Abbey. He possessed rare qualities, he was the soul of personal honour and truth, and the first thought of his life was unselfishly and chivalrously to fulfil his obligations.†

The news of his death reached Louisbourg in August. Wolfe wrote to his uncle,‡ that by his death there was an end of the expedition, for he was the spirit of the army, and the very best officer in the king's service. On two or three occasions in his correspondence this opinion is repeated.

I cannot myself see, that had he lived there would have been any change in the result of the day. This opinion has, however, been advanced by writers who command respect. The fault lay in the composition of the force, as I have pointed out, being unprovided with artillery. It is difficult to understand how the order of attack would have been different, unless it had been determined that none should be made ; in other words, that nothing should be done. It is not possible to form any such opinion.

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* Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., 87.2, p. 206.

† George Augustns Howe, third viscount in the peerage of Ireland. His body was taken to Albany and buried. Abercrombie wrote : "I caused his body to be taken off the field of battle and sent to Albany, with a design to have it embalmed and sent home, if his lordship's relations had approved of it, but the weather being very hot, Brigadier Stanwix was obliged to have it buried." The monument in Westminster Abbey has the following inscription : "The Province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England, by an order of the great and general Court, bearing date February 1st, 1759, caused this Monument to be erected to the memory of George, Lord Viscount Howe, Brigadier General of his Majesty's forces in North America, who was slain July 6th, 1758, on his march to Ticonderoga, in the 34th year of his age : in testimony of the sense they had of his services and military virtues, and of the affection their officers and soldiers bore to his command."

‡ Wright, p. 448.

It has been stated that Howe had been sent out specially to influence and to control Abercrombie. It is a view not warranted by facts. Howe was colonel of the 55th. In the autumn of 1757, before Pitt was in power as chief minister, he was in command at Schenectady, when de Bellaître attacked the palatine settlement. Lord Loudoun was then commanding-in-chief. On the recall of the latter, Abercrombie assumed the command in March, 1758. There is nothing to shew that lord Howe had any duty assigned him beyond his position as brigadier ; as an officer of his rank.

Montcalm's force consisted of 2,900 regulars and 600 of the colonial corps. The fort, narrow in its accommodation, was incomplete ; the stock of provisions was limited. As a scientific soldier, Montcalm could not have contemplated that the advance of a British force would be made without artillery, and the means of carrying on the siege. In his judgment, the occupation of the fort would have subjected him to the fate of William Henry of the previous year ; cut off from his communications, when his provisions had been exhausted, he would have had no alternative but that of surrender. At one time he contemplated the abandonment of the position, and retreating to Crown Point ; the course pursued the following year on the advance of Amherst with a force of less strength than that of Abercrombie. Correctly judging the depressing consequences of so acting, he determined resolutely to make a stand, and to fight where he was. It was the resolution of desperation. Of the two courses open to him, he took the boldest: from the bad generalship of his opponent, in attempting an assault unsustained by artillery, it proved the safest.

The intrenchments can still be distinctly traced, and the spot where the struggle took place is easily recognizable. The present earth works, however, were of subsequent erection. The ground is of a higher level than the adjoining plain, a *mamelon* without being a pronounced escarpment. It is distant about 3,500 English feet * or so from the fort.

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* 550 French toises.

The southern lines are about 500 feet from the river, which quietly flows beside it towards lake Champlain. In that direction there is a more rugged, abrupt descent. The intrenchments were protected at this place by a battery of six cannon. The whole ground was surrounded by an intrenchment of about eight feet in length, laid out in the form of bastions. It was formed of fallen trees, squared, so that they could be placed one on the other, pinned into position; a defence sufficient to protect those behind it from musket shot, but which a few discharges of cannon would have rapidly destroyed. The main defence lay in the mass of fallen trees placed in front, with their slighter branches cut off; the larger were pointed, and placed outwards. Row succeeded row of these "*abatis*," so that their removal, even under ordinary circumstances, would have been a work of immense labour. Under a heavy continuous fire, they impeded all advance. It was impossible to penetrate them; they were a series of gigantic *chevaux de frise*. The arrangement for the supply of water and provisions had been prudently carried out.

The British force bivouacked on the night of the 6th in the woods where they then were; the greater part of them under arms. On the morning of the 7th they were much fatigued. They had been in the boats during the night of the 5th until early in the morning of the 6th, when they landed. They had been on their feet for the whole period since that hour. Several of the men likewise, in the difficulty of moving through the forest, had thrown away the provisions they were carrying. Under these circumstances it was considered advisable to return to the landing-place, at which the troops arrived at eight o'clock in the morning.

About eleven, Bradstreet was sent off with the 44th regiment, six companies of royal Americans, the *bateau* men and some rangers, and a regiment of provincials to take possession of the saw mill. He found the bridge destroyed; accordingly Bradstreet, with the readiness and efficiency for which he was distinguished, replaced it by a new structure, so the stream could be crossed, and the left bank of the river reached, on which the intrenchment was situated. On Bradstreet sending a report of his proceedings, Abercrombie moved up the force, and established himself on the night of the 7th at this place.

The information obtained from the prisoners led Abercrombie to believe that Montcalm was intrenched with eight battalions, some colonial troops and Canadian militia, amounting in all to 6,000 men, and that de Lévis was hourly expected with a reinforcement of 3,000 men. He accordingly drew the inference that it was important for the attack to be made before the arrival of de Lévis. He was but a short distance from the intrenchment and there was no reason to defer his advance if it was expedient to make it.

Early on the morning of the 8th, Mr. Clerk, the engineer, was sent across the river to ascend the high ground on the opposite bank, known as Rattle-snake hill, to reconnoitre the enemy's intrenchments. This engineer officer was simply a lieutenant of the 27th infantry, in the casualties of which regiment his name appears as the one officer killed ;* he must have been a young man for he had not a year's service.† This fact will give some idea of the imperfect constitution of the expedition. The regiments, numerous and well disciplined, behaved with gallantry, as the unfortunate consequence of the attack attested ; but the engineer was a subaltern, without experience, and there were no guns. Clerk reported that the works were incomplete, and that if attacked before they were finished it was practicable to carry them. It was resolved to storm them without delay.

It is difficult to see that the presence of lord Howe would have changed matters. It was too late to repair the original imperfection of the force. The fire of guns, concentrated on a narrow limit, would have shattered the *abatis* and have made a practicable breach ; moreover, the open intrenchments themselves being shelled would have become untenable.

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* In the first statement the engineer officer is reported as wounded. The inference is he died from his wounds.

† Mathew Clerk, commissioned sub-engineer and lieutenant the 4th of January, 1758.

As a contemporary French writer remarks: "If Mr. Abercrombie had advanced his artillery at the head of his columns, the effect alone of the splinters carried about from the trees would have gained him the victory."* There was no such provision, and it was resolved to storm the intrenchment with the bayonet.

The French had been encouraged on the night of the 7th by the arrival of de Lévis. On the 28th of June de Vaudreuil had been informed by Montcalm of the threatened movement; he immediately ordered de Lévis to sustain Montcalm with what troops he could bring together. A detachment of his force detailed for the west was already *en route*, and had reached Lachine; they were recalled. On the 4th of July de Lévis left with de Sénerzergue and 400 men. With all the despatch which he could use, he was only able to reach Ticonderoga on the night of the 7th and 8th. No arrival could have been more welcome. The confidence felt in his character added to the courage of the defenders; and the reinforcement, though small, increased their confidence. De Lévis joined Montcalm in council as to the distribution of the troops. He was placed in command of the right defence of the camp: although exposed during the four hours of the attack, he came out of it uninjured; two balls, however, passed through his military cap. De Bourlamaque, who was placed in charge of the left, was severely wounded. Montcalm retained the chief command in the centre.

Abercrombie, having resolved upon the attack, made his dispositions to carry it out. The rangers, the light infantry and the right wing of the provincials were ordered out of cannon shot, and to form line in rear of the attacking column, their right towards lake George, so that the columns could reform in their rear. Abercrombie massed the regular troops in three columns, and it was to them that the duty of storming the intrenchments was assigned. The order was given to march briskly, to rush upon the enemy, and not to fire until within the breastworks. They reached the *abatis* to discover that they could make no further progress; they became entangled in the labyrinth of branches, and as they endeavoured to clear away the fallen trees were shot down. The light infantry with the rangers and *bateau* men skirmished from the verge of the small clearing, and kept up a fire upon the intrenchment. The storming parties again and again advanced, and in the fruitless attempt to make their way through the *abatis* not only failed in their efforts, but suffered severely from the fire poured into them. These attacks commenced at half past twelve, and were repeated for four hours until nearly five. The French relate that some sorties were made with the design of reaching the rear of the attacking columns. They were without importance and had no influence on the action. The loss of the British was experienced in the vain attempt to penetrate the *abatis.*

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* "si M. Abercromby eût fait porter de l'artillerie à la tête de ses colonnes le seul effet des êclats des arbres lui eut fait remporter la victorie." Memoires depuis 1749, jusque à 1760, p. 111.

Some barges had been brought over the *portage* and placed upon the river below the rapids, from which an attack on the escarpment was commenced. There were twenty boats so engaged. Two were immediately shattered by the guns in position so the attempt was discontinued and those engaged in it retired. The Canadians who were stationed at this part of the defence were not again assailed, and their fire was directed against the attacking columns.

The losses of the regular troops show the courage and determination with which the assault was made, and its four hours' duration is an equal proof of the tenacity of purpose with which it was persevered in. Finally, the fact became recognized that it was an impossibility to enter for any distance within the thicket of this defence under the fire of thirty-six hundred men, whatever the force sent forward to make the attempt. The long continuance of the fight and the heavy losses furnished the painful proof that no success could be hoped for, and the order was given for the columns to retire.

These repeated attacks, in every way failing in the result sought, cannot be placed on record without great blame being cast upon the capacity of Abercrombie. One element of generalship is surely to judge what is practicable and possible: whether the non-attainment of a purpose is the consequence of want of conduct of those attempting it, or that the object is in itself unattainable. In this emergency the sense and capacity of lord Howe might have been successfully exercised. If, however, he made no expostulation regarding the constitution of the expedition, and the evidence is against the supposition, he might, with Abercrombie, have been unable to understand how futile the attempt was, whatever the gallantry with which it was made, until conviction had been forced upon him by the shattered condition of the repulsed battalions. As Abercrombie is alone responsible for perseverance in the attack, the censure of its continuance must rest upon his memory. Had he, with the eye of a general, early discovered the weakness of the assault against the opposition to be overcome, his remedy was easy of attainment. His overpowering force against Montcalm was weak in the one element of artillery. He was in command of the lake. His line of communication was perfectly free from even a prospect of interruption, and his supply of provisions was sufficient. Had he early in the day withdrawn his force, and intrenched himself within easy reach of the lake, and sent messengers to fort Edward for artillery to be forwarded night and day until it should reach him, he could in a few hours have advanced to the attack to cannonade an opening by which the intrenchment could have been stormed. The neglect of this course is the capital fault of Abercrombie; not that on the following day after his heavy losses with his dispirited battalions he did not recommence his most unwisely conceived attack, again to experience a repulse, and to meet losses possibly increased in magnitude.

When the retreat was determined, it was orderly and well conducted. The light infantry and rangers were formed to cover the march of the main body, and the skirmishing was continued until half past seven when they themselves retired.

Early in the morning of the 8th sir William Johnson arrived with three hundred Indians. They posted themselves on Rattle-snake hill, whence, from time to time, they fired a volley. Otherwise they took no part in the action, and in the evening they withdrew.

The troops retreated to the saw mills where the head-quarters had been established and a provincial regiment had been left. The wounded, as they were collected on the battle-field, were sent to this spot. They were now carried to the landing-place and placed in the boats. As they amounted to 1,357 in number it would not be surprising that some of those who suffered severely had been left unattended to in the belief that they were dead. Some few may have fallen in inaccessible spots and could not be recovered. In a subsequent correspondence Montcalm informed Abercrombie that thirty-four wounded prisoners only had been taken after the attack and had been sent to Montreal.*

The main body bivouacked at the saw mill. Early on the morning of the 9th the main body marched to the landing-place and embarked to return to William Henry. These dates entirely destroy the narrative of a precipitate and disorderly retreat. When the head of the lake was reached, the wounded who could be removed were taken to Albany.

No attempt was made on the part of the French to interfere with the embarkation of the British troops. They indeed looked forward to the recommencement of the attack on the following day, and they passed the night in strengthening their position and in cleaning their arms. Their loss was 14 officers and 92 rank and file killed, with 18 officers and 248 wounded, being 106 killed and 266 wounded, the total *hors de combat* being 372.

On the 10th de Lévis advanced to the saw mill, and satisfied himself that no enemy was present; the British force was entirely re-embarked, and had reascended the lake. He speaks of the traces of a hasty retreat; but all he specifies of the stores left behind is some quarters of flour, which had been thrown into the lake, which he was successful in obtaining

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* Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., 87.2, p. 213.

On the 11th the French buried the dead. De Lévis represents them as 800 in number; the real number was 551. He estimated the British loss at 4,000; in reality it was 1,945.*

United States writers have been lavish in blame on Abercrombie, and have endeavoured to cover his name with ridicule, for the reason that, with his preponderating force, he did not renew the fight in the morning. Abercrombie believed that he had been opposed by 6,000 troops, and that a reinforcement of 3,000 men was hourly expected. The

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* The following is the official detail of the killed and wounded in the repulse of the 8th of July. [Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., 87.1, p. 213.]

Regulars.	Officers.			Rank and File.			Total.
	Killed.	Missing.	Wounded.	Killed.	Missing.	Wounded.	
27th, Blakeney's	..	..	6	21	3	95	125
42nd, Lord John Murray's	7	..	20	196	..	278	501
44th, Abercrombie's	1	..	12	42	9	141	205
46th, Thomas Murray's	8	..	4	60	12	137	221
55th, Lord Howe's	5	..	5	36	3	120	169
60th, 1st Battalion	2	..	11	21	..	86	120
" 4th " Prevost's	2	..	7	25	..	126	160
Light Infantry	1	..	1	3	..	15	20
Rangers	..	2	1	17	..	18	38
Bateau men	..	..	1	17	..	33	50
Engineer	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
Total regulars	26	2	69	438	27	1049	1611
Provincials.							
Colonel Preble's	..	..	5	7	1	14	27
" Ruggle's	..	..	..	..	..	2	2
" Bagley's	2	..	1	4	..	10	17
" Williams'	..	..	..	4	..	13	17
" Doty	..	..	..	..	..	5	5
New York	2	..	4	26	..	57	89
New Jersey	1	..	1	10	2	46	60
Colonel Babcock	..	..	4	18	..	48	70
" Fitch	1	..	1	4	3	5	14
" Wooster	..	..	1	3	..	15	19
" Partridge	2	..	1	3	2	6	14
Total provincials	8	..	18	79	8	221	334
Grand total	34	2	87	517	35	1270	1945

The 42nd went into action 1086 strong; they therefore proximately lost every second man.

losses had amounted to nearly 2,000 men, so the strength of his army was 13,500: a formidable body of troops, in itself also an argument to shew that the retreat was in no way precipitate. The repulse of the 8th, however, had clearly established the fault of Abercrombie in commencing the campaign without proper preparation. There was no error as to the disposition of the forces for storming the intrenchments; the gallantry with which the attempt had been made was unquestionable. An assault which lasted four hours, during which 2,000 men had been placed *hors de combat*, could not be considered to have failed for want of courage and conduct. The attempt had been made as resolutely as soldiers could make it, and its failure had established that the impediments to be overcome were insuperable. To have repeated the attack on the following day would have been to court a similar disaster, with the additional risk that the French might have become the assailants, and the British army have greatly suffered. Had Abercrombie shewn half as good generalship in the organization of his force as, when recognizing the impossibility of success, he ordered a retreat, there would be no such unfortunate chapter in the records of British history. The fact is that the strength of the *abatis* had been not only underrated, but its character was unknown. A repetition of the attempt, to force them, would have been little short of madness; nevertheless, the French looked for the renewal of the attack, and when the scouts brought the news that the British force had departed, it seemed to the French that a miracle had been wrought in their behalf.*

An incident happened during the attack, which is testified to by an eye-witness.† A captain of the Royal Rousillon, having placed a red flag at the end of a musket, waved it towards the British column. It has been represented that it was done without design, as a freak of the moment, but it was attended with serious consequences. It was accepted by the British as a signal for surrender. Accordingly, they advanced, holding their guns in the air and crosswise on their breasts as a proof of peaceful intention. The French troops regarded the proceeding as an abandonment of the attack, and as a desire to be received within the intrenchment as prisoners. The firing, accordingly, ceased on both sides, and the men placed themselves along the intrenchment to wait for the British to come in. One of the officers, M. de Fontbonne, called to his company to tell the men to drop their arms and they would be received. Pouchot, who had been temporarily absent, returned at this crisis, and, judging the situation differently, calling out "Don't you see that these men will take you?" ordered them to fire. The French, consequently, fired a volley which, according to Pouchot, placed from two to three hundred of the advancing column *hors de combat.* The French were reproached at the time as having been guilty of an unpardonable want of military conduct.* There does not appear to have been any deliberate breach of good faith on the part of the French, and it may be accepted in the form it is narrated. It was a crisis in the event of the day; had the men of the column obtained a footing within the intrenchment the probability is that they would have held their ground.

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* The profound sensation caused by this repulse throughout the army was painful to the last degree. Forbes at the time wrote to Bouquet, 23rd July, [Can. Arch., A. & W. I., p. 157.] "I send you enclosed a melancholy list of our killed and wounded at this very, very sad affair." Wolfe wrote to Rickson on his return to England months after the event, 1st Dec., 1758: "This defeat at Ticonderoga seemed to stupify us that were at Louisbourg." Indeed, it appeared inexplicable as it remains to-day, unless we accept the cause as stated in the text to be the absence of artillery.

† Pouchot, I., p. 113.

All that Pouchot can describe as having been gathered from the retreat, is 500 pairs of shoes and buckles left behind in the boggy ground, with 700 quarters of meal taken from the lake in which it had been thrown. Lord Mahon magnifies this statement as many boat loads of provisions.† Smollett tells us that Abercrombie's attack "was condemned as rash and his retreat as pusillanimous": ‡ a question of his generalship, not of a disorderly retreat.

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* Entick, v. III., p. 257, gives an account of the incident in a manner unfavourable to the French.

† History of England, IV., p. 136.

‡ Chap. 29, 7.

The facts related clearly establish that Abercrombie withdrew from the attack without interference from the French, and that with deliberation he took the steps which he conceived necessary to his own safety. It is not impossible that he may have contemplated the renewal of the assault, but better counsel eventually prevailed. The embarkation of the troops on the morning of the 9th was conducted in a regular and orderly manner. The troops were in no way demoralized, and they retreated up the lake with the same discipline with which they had advanced to the attack, however depressed they may have been in spirit.

It would be difficult to find any writer of military history, received as an authority, who can recognize the wisdom of the proposition that Abercrombie should have abandoned his basis of operation at the head of the lake, sacrificing the advantages of being within reach of his supplies, without the slightest improvement in his position, to occupy a spot difficult of access. To have abandoned his lines of communication would have been madness. The argument has been advanced that Abercrombie could have looked for the immediate arrival of Amherst. Those who so write must be ignorant of the fact that the capitulation of Louisbourg took place nineteen days after Abercrombie's repulse; indeed it was only known to Abercrombie on the 28th of August.* Whatever the first fault of Abercrombie, after the repulse he acted with judgment, and his conduct is beyond reproach.

The news of the disaster on reaching England on all sides caused great emotion. Pitt was greatly depressed. The fact is plain by the letters written him by Bute and George Grenville. Bute wrote that the troops had done their duty, and that to him might be attributed the revival of the courage which had cost some brave lives. George Grenville endeavoured to comfort him by the reflection that although this misfortune must be sensibly felt, affairs still had a promising aspect.†

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* Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., 87.2, p. 355.

† Chatham correspondence, I., p. 335.

CHAPTER III.

No advantage was gained by the French from the repulse of the British at Ticonderoga. Abercrombie continued to hold his position at the head of the lake, which he fortified. His force was so large that it was inconceivable to the French that he should remain passive and defensive. He constructed a sloop, armed with six guns, for cruising on lake George, and to watch any movement from Ticonderoga. The French generals believed that Abercrombie would revisit them. Montcalm described himself as threatened with a second attack, and wrote that the only thought of the French was the protection of that side of the frontier during the campaign.*

One duty was imposed on Abercrombie, to safeguard the convoys, for much activity was shewn by the French in their incursions. The Massachusetts' regiment of colonel Nichols was placed at Half-way brook, specially charged with the duty of sending out scouting parties; his instructions were immediately to notify Abercrombie at the lake of any trace of the enemy's approach. Nichols so badly fulfilled his duty, that a party of ten were attacked near the post, nine of whom were scalped; one escaped to give notice of the attack. A detachment was turned out in pursuit, and came up with the enemy. The men are reported to have behaved badly, and to have deserted their officers, who in vain appealed to them to follow them to the attack. Of the officers three captains, two lieutenants, and one ensign were killed; of the men nine privates and two non-commissioned officers; three were wounded, seven missing. Abercrombie heard of the affair too late to send out a reinforcement; Nichols, however, was relieved from his post, and replaced by 200 regulars, with some rangers and provincials.*

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* Montcalm to de Cremille, Carillon, 21st October, 1758 [N.Y. Doc., X., p. 885]; also de Bougainville to the same, Ib., p. 888. De Cremille had been appointed minister of war in connection with de Belle-Isle in April, 1758.

A colonel Hart, of New Hampshire, does not figure creditably in the records of the time. On the day of his arrival at fort Edward, the 27th of July, he was called upon to convoy thirty ox teams with provisions on the following morning. He excused himself, on the ground that his men had marched the preceding day, and were greatly fatigued, as the extent of this depressing effort had been sixteen miles the reply attracted attention unfavourable to him. The teams were dispatched with an escort of 170 men ; they had gone about half way to the brook, when they were attacked by 300 Canadians and Indians. Several of the escort were killed, several taken prisoners in the surprise and the petty skirmish which followed.

A system of signals had been established, by which these attacks could be made known, when assistance was required, so that a force to support any detachment in difficulty could be sent out. On the concerted signal being heard, colonel Hart was ordered to go to the assistance of the escort. He came upon the scene of the attack to find that the cattle had been killed, the teams rendered useless, and much of the provisions scattered about. Many of the Canadian party had freely partaken of the liquor they had captured. The fact was afterwards known, that several of them were incapable of resistance, and with resolute men against them they might have been cut to pieces and destroyed. Hart refused to follow on the trace of the enemy ; he would go no further, and the Canadian detachment escaped with their spoil and their prisoners. Hart's conduct was universally condemned. He was subsequently tried by a court-martial of provincial officers, of which colonel Schuyler was president.

On hearing of the affair, Abercrombie sent out a party of 700 men, under Rogers, with instructions to intercept the French at a narrow pass at Wood's creek. They left at two in the morning. A further detachment of 1,000 men followed, under Haviland, to cover them. Haviland returned with the report that Rogers and his party, in spite of their diligence in reaching the place, were two hours too late in their attempt to intercept the French.

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* Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., 87.2, p. 297.

As it was evident that there were parties in the field from Ticonderoga actively watching every opportunity to attack detachments, when not of sufficient strength to resist them, Rogers, with a force of the rangers, major Putnam, and some Connecticut men, and a wing of the light infantry under captain Dalzell, in all about 700, was ordered to sweep round the country and come out at fort Edward. The detachment took post at South bay, but failed to intercept any of the enemy ; but on the 8th of August they came up with a party of Canadians and Indians, under Marin, of about 450 in number. Marin had received information of the presence of Rogers in the field, and not knowing the strength of his force, determined to intercept him. He had heard shots in the morning, and placed himself in ambush within two miles of fort Anne. The Connecticut regiment was in front, followed by the light infantry, the rear being brought up by the rangers, with Rogers. Owing to the difficulty of movement through the thick bush, the line of march was straggling, and the French force, having chosen their ground, had the advantage of surprise and their masked position. Putnam, who was in front, before he was aware of any attack was seized by some Indians ; an officer and three men who were near him were likewise surprised. The Connecticut men fell back until the light infantry and the rangers could come to their help. After a fight of two hours, the French gave way and retreated, carrying away their prisoners. It was at this critical moment that Putnam's absence was felt. He had been missed early in the fight ; his corps amounted to nearly half the force, and there was nobody to command it, one of the lieutenants being absent. It was the more unfortunate, as the men had been Putnam's own selection, and they could not be collected to pursue the French force. The loss on the British side was forty-nine killed. They were buried where they fell;

the wounded were taken on litters to fort Edward. Abercrombie reports the loss of the French at 150 killed: only two prisoners were taken. Many were scalped. The scalps were numbered by Abercrombie as fifty-six, fifteen of which were Indians. A party was sent from fort Edward to bury the French dead, and it is to be presumed that it was from this source that the official number was given. Rogers was highly spoken of by Abercrombie for his "great calmness and officer-like conduct." *

Abercrombie learned from the prisoners taken that most of the regular troops in Canada were still at Ticonderoga. They consisted of eight battalions of 500 men each, some colonial troops and Canadian militia, with 600 Indians, making a total of 13,000 men. The fact was corroborated by some deserters and by some prisoners who had made their escape. Fresh intrenchments with new batteries, had been added, and the defence of the *abatis* generally increased. The fort had been strengthened. A strong force was placed at the head of the *portage* and at the saw mills, and strong intrenchments thrown up at the landing place to oppose any attempted disembarkation.

If the failure at Ticonderoga had proved dispiriting to the British provinces, and had created fears of an invasion of northern New York, the French were equally perplexed as to the designs of Abercrombie. The large British force which remained at the head of lake George, and the active preparations which were known to be continued, were interpreted by the French as the design to recommence the attack under different and more favourable conditions. Accordingly, the concentration of the French force was continued at Carillon, and the paralyzing influence of this uncertainty was the cause that all other operations were neglected. The projected expedition to the Mohawk under de Lévis was abandoned. The detachment detailed to ascend the Saint Lawrence, which had been stopped at Lachine, was not replaced: thus fort Frontenac remained imperfectly garrisoned. The French, however, felt that their possession of lake Ontario was unassailable.

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* Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., 87.2, pp. 304-6, 19th August.

On hearing of the arrival of Amherst in Halifax, Abercrombie informed him of the disaster at Carillon, and asked that, if active operations were not to be carried on in the east, troops might be sent to Albany by the way of New York. The letter did not reach Amherst, for he had left Halifax for Boston. The troops landed at Boston, and marched overland from Albany. They disembarked on the 13th of September; they commenced their march on the 15th, and reached Albany on the 3rd of October.

The lesson which Abercrombie had received had taught him the necessity of obtaining artillery. In a letter to Amherst he stated his great need in this respect, the guns having been taken to accompany Loudoun's expedition. He likewise asked for engineer officers. He set forth these requirements, not in the view of any aggressive movement, but as necessary to the defence of the territory from lake George to the Hudson; and on the Mohawk to the carrying-place. Abercrombie had formed the opinion that any attempt upon Ticonderoga could only be undertaken with greater preparation, and that the place must be approached in a regular siege, and with disciplined artillery under competent engineers: moreover, that the operations would require more time than the season of the year would admit before the approach of winter. He was still the general-in-chief, and he directed Amherst to leave his command with the senior officer, and proceed to lake George, to discuss the course to be followed. Amherst arrived on the 5th of October; a council was held, at which brigadier Gage was present, when it was determined that the attempt should not be repeated that year. The troops lately arrived were accordingly placed in quarters opposite to Albany, and Amherst again went eastward.

An event, however, had taken place, which, although not attended by the renown which gratifies and flatters national pride, nevertheless achieved important political results, and was indirectly the cause of more important consequences. Indeed, it may be named as the first step towards the entire destruction

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* Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., 87.2, p. 381.

of French power in the west and on the lakes. It must ever be a matter of surprise that the French left the important fort of Cataraqui or Frontenac so perfectly unprotected, and that its value as a depot for the west, at the foot of the lakes, did not suggest its protection, so that it could resist an ordinary attack until relief could be sent. Its value in all respects was known, even for aggressive purposes. It had been the starting point of Montcalm's attack on Oswego, and it had been selected as the place of assembly for the projected expedition of de Lévis to the Mohawk river: it was the point from which the reinforcements, with provisions and stores, could be most advantageously despatched to Detroit and to the Ohio: it was the magazine where the provisions could be best collected to be sent in schooners to Niagara, or by canoes to lake Erie. From its central position it conferred great advantages; indeed, it was the first fortified place above Montreal; la Presentation, or Ogdensburg, being merely a mission with its Indian village. In the autumn of 1757 Bradstreet had proposed to Loudoun to attempt the conquest, but the proposition was not entertained. After the repulse from Ticonderoga Bradstreet again submitted the offer to Abercrombie. In the depressed condition of the army, and owing to the many attacks of the French parties from the head of lake Champlain, in which the convoys suffered loss, Abercrombie was ready to welcome any movement which promised to cast a gleam of good fortune upon the British arms. Personally, he had full confidence in Bradstreet, which had been called forth by his unexceptionable conduct. As it was necessary to determine the strength of the several garrisons for the rest of the year, at the time Bradstreet advocated the expedition Abercrombie agreed to place 3,000 men at his disposal for the attempt. Bradstreet proceeded to the Oneida carrying-place to complete the organization. General Stanwix was there in command, engaged in the construction of the fort which bore his name. The expedition did not immediately promise success. Abercrombie wrote to Pitt on the 19th of August* that he had heard

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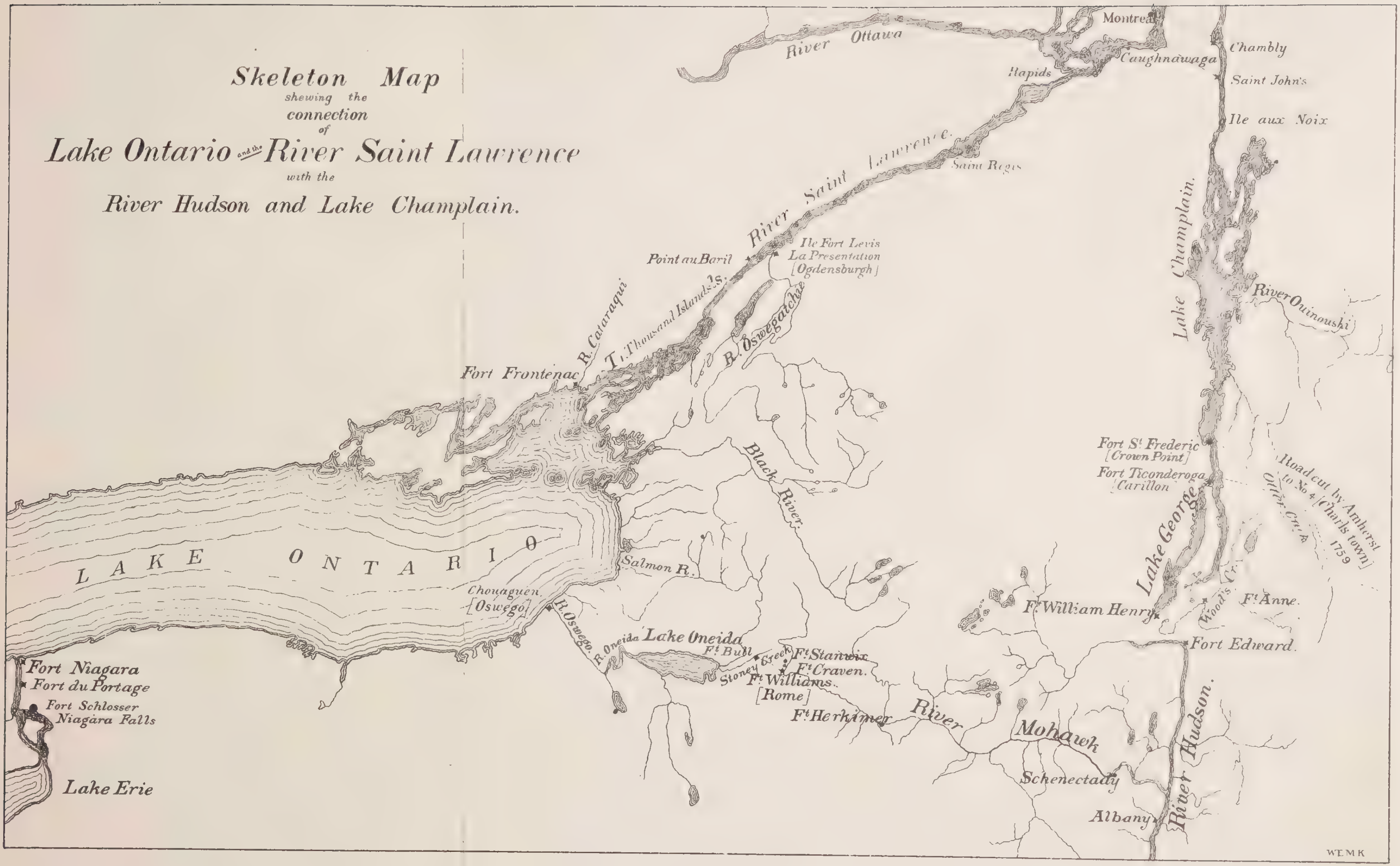
* Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., 87.2, p. 308.



Skeleton Map shewing the connection of Lake Ontario and the River Saint Lawrence with the River Hudson and Lake Champlain.

from Stanwix that Bradstreet's force had been greatly reduced by sickness and desertion: nevertheless that the latter had said if "the Numbers be reduced so low that we cannot make out above 1,000 men fitt to proceed to Lake Ontario with them, I will do my best." As Abercrombié heard that there was little opposition to be met, he communicated the information to Bradstreet through Stanwix, at the same time adding that he did not mean to encourage the undertaking, unless Bradstreet himself thought it practicable. On the 20th Stanwix reported that Bradstreet had started * and had reached Oswego, and that the force was about to embark on lake Ontario. On September the 8th he heard that the place had been taken. The news came in the form of a private letter, but the particulars were so circumstantial that they could not be doubted. Two days later Bradstreet's report arrived.† The narrative is brief. He landed on the 25th of August, about six in the afternoon. That night the men lay under arms. Next morning they placed their cannon in position within 400 feet from the fort. As little damage was effected, it was resolved to make a nearer approach, and the guns remained silent for the rest of the day. At night, possession was taken of an old

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* The following is the detail of Bradstreet's force as it is given in the state of the 15th of August, 1758. [Series A. & W. I., 87.2, p. 370.]

	Officers.	Rank and file.
Royal artillery	3	24
Regular troops	8	146
Col. Williams' battalion	19	415
" Doty's	10	232
" de Lancey's	38	1055
" Johnson's	16	389
Babcock's	24	293
Rangers	1	60
	119	2,614
Bateau men		300
Indians		70
Total		2,984

† The letter was addressed by lieutenant Arch. McAuley to captain Horatio Gates. [Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 87.2, p. 372.] Bradstreet's despatch is dated 31st August, Oswego. [Ib. 87.2, p. 374.]

intrenchment close to the fort, from which at daybreak the fire was opened. It was so effective that at seven the surrender was made. There were about one hundred and ten men in the garrison, besides women and children. Nine vessels armed with from nine to eighteen guns, were taken, seven of them were burned, with the fort, and its contents which could not be removed. Sixty pieces of artillery were found in the fort with a great quantity of stores and goods. Fourteen of the besiegers were wounded, none were killed. There were seven Indians in the fort who made their escape. Much of the provisions and stores and most of the goods were destined for the posts on the Ohio. It was admitted by the prisoners that the seizure of these stores would greatly embarrass the western forts. The destruction of the vessels left the French without a single ship on lake Ontario.

The garrison surrendered as prisoners of war, to be exchanged for equal numbers with the observance of rank. Bradstreet's first intention was to have taken them to Albany; he however considered it more advisable to allow them to proceed to Montreal on parole, the exchanges to be sent to lake George.

Abercrombie subsequently stated that at least 800,000 *livres* worth of booty had been taken. It consisted of furs, and goods for trade with the Indians, and to be delivered to them as presents. They were distributed in equal proportions among the men; Bradstreet in no way reserved a share for himself, or in the least obtained material profit from the transaction. The vessels in which he brought them to Oswego were burned; the guns and powder taken by him were delivered at fort Stanwix.*

The French commandant was M. Noyan:† among the ladies were Mde. du Vivier and Mde. Barillon. The prisoners taken were eventually exchanged for colonel Schuyler and others, who reached fort Edward under a flag of truce.

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* Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., 87.2., p. 391.

† The commandant de Payan de Noyan, of an ancient Normandy family, was *lieutenant de roy* at Three Rivers. The post at Frontenac had been given him that he might better his fortunes, which were in a bad condition, for the position had been looked upon as below his merit. He was a man of much culture, fond of science, and had included medicine in his studies; he was a poet, and his *vers de societé*, often having the piquancy of ill-natured satire, had created for him

The importance of fort Frontenac was well known to the French officers: a contemporary writer describes its destruction as of greater injury to the colony than the loss of a battle.* The danger had in vain been represented to de Vaudreuil. With the Canadians of the colony, he believed that the British were without the strength, or the courage to attack this part of the territory. The news, therefore, that Bradstreet had landed caused great feeling in Montreal ; at the same time, much irresolution was felt as to the course to be taken. Finally, de Vaudreuil despatched Duplessis, major of Montreal, with

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many enemies. He was then sixty-eight. Age had brought with it some physical infirmity, but the keenness of his intellect was unimpaired. He had seen de Longueuil when on his Indian mission, and he had learned from him that the fort might be attacked. De Longueuil had promised to represent the fact to de Vaudreuil, and had left with de Noyan, a member of his staff of some ability, to aid de Noyan in his transactions with the Indians. Several of the Oneidas, seeing the preparations at fort Stanwix, had also given notice of the proposed attack. In this certainty of being assailed without means of defence, de Noyan urgently pressed de Vaudreuil to reinforce the garrison. All that de Vaudreuil would do was to send up a single man, d'Irnon la Plante, full of courage, but without talent and experience, with one arm, disabled. On no assistance being sent to de Noyan, in conformity with his earnest demands, correctly judging the situation, he asked to be relieved from the fort, preferring that the surrender, which he saw to be inevitable, should be made by another. De Vaudreuil, on receiving the letter, shrugged his shoulders, with the expression "that this officer must be afraid."

The penalty of the loss of Cataraqui fell upon de Noyan, who allowed himself to be persuaded by de Vaudreuil, whom in no way he distrusted, to leave to de Vaudreuil the narrative of the cause of the disaster. De Noyan had no ground for self-reproach : the cause of the failure lay with de Vaudreuil alone. Accordingly he gave no official written account of the surrender, leaving de Vaudreuil to make his own explanations. The governor threw the whole blame on de Noyan, stating that age had weakened his judgment, at the same time asking for his retirement. The advice was acted upon, and de Noyan became the dupe of his good faith and generosity of character. When he was informed of the course taken with regard to him, he complained to the court in France. It was the old story : justice and consideration were refused, and all his expostulation was unavailing.

* "et nuisit plus par cette expedition à la colonie que n'auroit fait la perte d'une bataille." Mémoires 1749–1760, p. 116.

3,000 Canadians and all the Indians he could collect, on his route to fort Frontenac.* Duplessis heard of the surrender when a few miles above Lachine. He, however, continued his voyage to La Presentation and waited for orders. The engineer-in-chief of the colony, de Pontleroy, with a detachment, went as far as fort Frontenac to observe its condition: he reported that it could be re-established at no great expense. The walls generally remained in good condition: six cannon had been left behind, with many utensils. Duplessis was instructed to send a detachment under de Montigny to reinforce Niagara. He himself went as far as Frontenac, with the view of retaining the Indians under French influence. After remaining some days, he left on the 26th of October. On his arrival at La Presentation, he found orders waiting for him to send chevalier Benoit to Frontenac, with a detachment of troops and some Canadian militia. The fort was to be rebuilt to protect the canoes arriving with provisions. Benoit is described as being of a Parisian family; one of those men of no account, because they know themselves to be so; chimerical in his views, a devotee, with some capacity, but little education, affecting the tone of a philosopher, possessing courage, and capable of obtaining credit in the discharge of his duty. The construction of two schooners was ordered, and de Cressé, *aide constructeur*, was sent to Frontenac to superintend the work. The necessary timber could not be conveniently procured, so he descended the river and established himself on the north shore, at a place known as Point au Baril, some short distance above La Presentation.† Benoit was subsequently removed from Frontenac and put in command at La Presentation, replacing de Lorimer. Fort Frontenac was thus entirely abandoned. Point au Baril was considered more defensible than La Presentation; it was accordingly selected for a permanent establishment, and the buildings were intrenched. For the time it took the place of fort Frontenac. The events of the following year caused its abandonment, and the place passed out of notice for half a century.

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* This number is mentioned by de Lévis. Journal, p. 149. The writer of the *mémoire* states that 1,500 were sent.

† Point au Baril is described as being about seven and a half miles above Ogdensburg. Its site must have been in the neighbourhood of the present village of Maitland.

Bradstreet obtained some important information affecting the Indians from the prisoners taken at the surrender. From what he learned, it was evident that the French had succeeded with the Six Nations, to a great extent, in obtaining their confidence, and in alienating them from the British alliance. The disaster at Ticonderoga must have greatly impaired their faith in the strength of British power. The Indian cannot be blamed for his desire to be on the strongest side. On the part of the French there was always an influence to appeal to his imagination. The Roman catholic missionary was ever present to administer the rites of his church, and to place in prominence all that could console the devotee ; at the same time proclaiming the punishment which would follow any want of faith in the teaching given him. Thus enthusiasm was awakened for the French cause as representative of the true religion.

Politically, the French were unceasing in their attempts at conciliation. The value of the Indian in the inroads of destruction into the enemy's country was well known. In July of the present year de Vaudreuil despatched de Rigaud with a detachment, and nine canoes of merchandise as presents, to meet the Six Nations in the spirit of conciliation. In his journey, hearing of the repulse at Ticonderoga, he went as far as Chouagen (Oswego). He was accompanied by de Longueuil, who had lately succeeded his father, and had much experience in Indian affairs. He had there an interview with some Oneidas and Onondagas. His presents were accepted, and he strove to retain their adherence to France. He had the satisfaction of being received in state and with friendliness, and for a time it looked as if his mission had been successful. The capture of fort Frontenac was a powerful argument against him, to counterbalance the courtesies of many such meetings.

There was another powerful influence which seriously affected the Indian. There was with the two European peoples a cardinal difference in the relationship with the native race. The Canadian, readily domiciled in the Indian wigwam, took a squaw as his partner in life, and made no attempt to make a settlement on the hunting grounds of the tribe. The British population had difficulty in recognizing these rights, and they did not see that any infringement upon them was regarded by the Indians as an intrusion to be resented. There was consequently in the British provinces a constant attempt to gain possession of land as property. So long as the trader dwelt among the Indians, confining himself to buying and selling, and making himself rich by petty frauds, which the Indian did not understand, or if he did see through them, was not painfully shocked, for they accorded with his own ethics, so long there was neither dissatisfaction nor complaint. The Indian continued his relationship with the traders, as he could obtain goods cheaper from them than from the French, and the rum was as palatable as French brandy, and cheaper. But when the population at the limit of settlement attempted to push forward and occupy land, without treaty or permission from the Indian, and in spite of his protest, the hold of the British on the Indian mind became weakened. In some cases it had been entirely alienated; such had been the case on the Ohio, where settlement had been attempted far beyond the mountains. The desire to drive back this settlement, with other causes, had powerfully influenced the Ohio Indians to join the French in their expeditions against Pennsylvania and Virginia. The defeat of Braddock had done much to exalt French prestige. So pertinacious had been their attack under French organization during the succeeding years, that in Pennsylvania settlement had been driven back to Carlisle. In Virginia and Maryland the limit to population was fort Frederic or the Potomac. The Six Nations, with no friendly eye, looked on the establishments which were being made on the Mohawk, and late events, joined to their own doubts and fears, had led them to incline to France, as much from the spirit of self-preservation as from any other feeling.

Bradstreet's information was of importance, as it established the extent to which these influences were at work. He learned, on what he regarded to be good authority, the fact that the Six Nations had promised, with 2,000 men, to meet de Lévis at Oswego. The design was to attack the Mohawk settlements: 500 Oshawas and some Mississaguas had been gathered at Montreal. They were to proceed to Frontenac and there receive provisions and necessaries, guns and ammunition. The whole of the Six Nations had shown such an inclination to accept French interests, that vigorous measures were required to avoid the evil consequences of their taking this step.

By the middle of October the autumn rains were making the roads impassable for heavy vehicles; accordingly, on the 17th the artillery, ammunition, stores and *bateaux* were removed from the head of lake George to the Hudson. Some of the larger boats left behind were scuttled, the naval stores were buried in the encampment. The sloop which had been constructed since July was dismantled and sunk; the whale boats were hid in the woods.*

On the 20th of October Abercrombie himself left lake George, leaving Gage to bring up the rear. The troops went into winter quarters, many of them suffering from scurvy.

The fort at the Oneida carrying-place, fort Stanwix, was now complete. It contained casemates for 400 men, with a ditch and glacis. It was fortified with guns *en barbette.*

Abercrombie's letter of recall, dated the 18th of September, reached him on the 1st of November. There can be little doubt but that it was caused by the events of the 8th of July. General Amherst was appointed his successor. No displeasure was expressed in the communication; for in acknowledging it, Abercrombie thanks the minister for the expression of good wishes and for the assurance that a just sense of his zeal for the king's service is entertained.†

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* Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., 87.2, p. 384.

† Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., 87.2, p. 376.

The French remained at Ticonderoga uncertain what course to take. On the 28th of October Wolf had been sent to fort Edward with a letter from de Vaudreuil. On his return he reported that it was evident the British force was leaving lake George for winter quarters. Montcalm sent out two parties: one under de Florimond, to make a reconnoissance along the road to fort Edward; the second under de Charly, who, from the heights overlooking the British camp, was to observe its condition. A deserter arrived on the 30th and confirmed Wolf's statement. De Charly returned and reported the camp to be abandoned. De Florimond brought back a prisoner belonging to the rear guard; possibly a straggler. De Florimond, however, represented that he had attacked the detachment and killed seven or eight. From this prisoner the news was confirmed, and the French learned the arrival of the battalions from Louisbourg.

Having heard from the deserter that the British had made *caches* of provisions and utensils, of their boats and *bateaux*, Montcalm sent captain de la Pause with a party to William Henry to see what could be found. What of value was discovered was brought away; the other property was burned. The finishing blow was given to the intrenchments which the British had imperfectly attempted to destroy.

The French troops went into winter quarters. Four hundred men, under d'Hébecourt, were left at Carillon, and two hundred at fort Saint Frederick, Crown Point, under de Lusignan. On the 4th of November Montcalm and de Lévis started for Montreal and arrived there on the 9th. Shortly afterwards they heard that Abercrombie had been recalled.*

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* Journal of de Lévis, pp. 159–161.

CHAPTER IV.

The attack of fort Dusquesne, included by Pitt in the season's campaign, was in no way looked upon as an object of secondary importance. Indeed, it had been placed in equal prominence with the siege of Louisbourg and the advance upon lake Champlain. It embraced in itself more than a struggle for the valley of the Ohio: it involved the sovereignty of the west. The French, once firmly in possession of the river and its northern tributaries, would have closed access to further advance westward of the British provinces, and imposed upon them the Alleghanies as a boundary.

The three provinces directly interested were Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia; they had fully felt the destructive influence which the French fort had exercised on their condition. In the three years which had followed the defeat of Braddock, the country west of Carlisle, in Pennsylvania, and of fort Frederick, in Maryland, had been devastated by Indians headed by French officers, accompanied by French troops. Wherever there was an unprotected settlement, it had been surprised, and the dwellers in it killed, or carried away to servitude. Step by step settlement had been driven back, for no effectual effort had been made to restrain these inroads; and the inhabitants who had occupied the country had abandoned it, when it could only be held at risk of life.

The officer placed at the head of the expedition was brigadier Forbes. There is scarcely an illustrious name less known in English history; nevertheless, he was a man of rare and noble qualities, and there are few who have been distinguished by more important services rendered to the commonwealth. In spite of broken health and physical suffering, he carried out the duties entrusted to him with unrelaxed tenacity of purpose, with judgment and with ability; it was to his skill as a diplomatist and his foresight as a soldier that the end desired was fully attained.

John Forbes was born in Petincrief, in Fifeshire.* He entered the army in 1710. On the 29th of November, 1750, he became lieutenant-colonel of the 2nd dragoons, the "Scots Greys." In 1757 he succeeded general Richbell as colonel of the 17th foot, and the same year arrived at Halifax with Hobson's force in the expedition designed against Louisbourg. Owing to its postponement,† he remained in Nova Scotia until instructed to relieve Stanwix in South Carolina, who had been appointed to duty on the Mohawk. On the 14th of April he received orders to proceed to New York, and thence to Philadelphia, in view of the approaching campaign to be undertaken against fort Duquesne. He was to endeavour to reconcile matters between the governor and the assembly, and to obtain a vote for one hundred thousand pounds towards the expedition. Forbes was directed to address his despatches personally to Pitt.

No feature in the character of Forbes comes more into prominence than his diplomatic talents. Always courteous and considerate in his intercourse with the provincial authorities, particularly with the officers, he gave full attention to their representations, but when he had maturely weighed the policy which he considered it was his duty to follow, he adhered to it, even when not in accord with provincial opinion, as a rule avoiding unpleasantness and embarrassment.

The bill passed, and the provincial troops were ordered to be augmented. There were frequent misunderstandings, however. Forbes described the situation " as everything going on slowly except disputes, which arose daily." * In 1757 Maryland had voted that the troops should be disbanded. Had not lord Loudoun pledged the credit of the imperial government to meet the cost of the garrison of fort Loudoun, it would have been abandoned, and its fate would have been to have been seized by the French. In this emergency the legislature agreed to vote £80,000, but as Forbes explained, little would be available for use, as they would vote £25,000 or £30,000 for the services of the assembly, and the remainder would be consumed for arrears and pay.

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* Forbes is not included in the latest edition of British biography, although several pages are given to eminent men of the name. In the United States biographies he is represented to have been born in 1710, and to have died in his 49th year. This statement is made on the authority of the Pennsylvania *Gazette* of the 15th of March, 1759. The narrative in the text is taken from the official record of the imperial 17th regiment, [p. 51]. No doubt, as was the custom in those days, he obtained his commission in his fourteenth or fifteenth year, so he must have been about sixty-four at his death. We are told by United States writers that he was on the staff of lord Stair, general Ligonier, general Campbell, and was quartermaster-general under the duke of Cumberland. He is likewise represented as having practised medicine. This statement cannot possibly be correct, seeing the early age at which Forbes entered the army.

† Ante p. 35.

Virginia voted that the provincial troops should be increased to 2,000. There were three independent companies in South Carolina, but their presence was required in the western part of the state, near Georgia. The regular troops at Forbes' command were thirteen companies of Montgomery's highlanders, and four companies of the 1st battalion of the Royal Americans. There was no artillery, and a scarcity of arms and tents. It was Forbes' duty, out of this chaos, to organize a fighting column, to see that it was clothed, fed, and cared for, and to march it through an uninhabited country of two hundred miles.†

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* Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., 87.2, p. 448.

† According to a writer in "Olden Time," II., p. 284, the following was the full strength of the force when finally constituted :—

Regulars.			All Ranks.
1st Battalion Royal Americans		363	
62nd Regiment of Highlanders		1,267	
			1,630
Provincials.			
1st Virginia Regiment	782		
2nd " "	702		
		1,484	
3 North Carolina Companies		141	
4 Maryland Companies		270	
1st Battalion, Pennsylvania	755		
2nd " "	666		
3rd " "	771		
The three lower counties	263		
		2,455	
			4,350
Total			5,980

Abercrombie had sent to Forbes, an officer of artillery, with nine men; with this nucleus he endeavoured to form a siege corps. He "scraped together" guns of different calibre, and caused some howitzers to be cast; he bought and borrowed a good many firelocks. He took care every man should have a blanket, and his determination was to obtain provisions for three months for 6,000 men, before the advance should commence.

At the end of April, Bouquet, second in command to Forbes, had arrived at Carlisle to examine into the question which route should be followed in the campaign. The road, which Braddock had opened out, more or less existed: it had become somewhat cumbered up, and had fallen into a bad condition. In that point of view it was to be preferred to a new route which had to be cut out of the forest and entirely formed. What impressed Forbes was the strong objection that fort Cumberland, 122 miles distance from fort Duquesne, was to be held as a base of operations. Early on his arrival the quarter-master-general, sir John Sinclair, had pointed out that a preferable route lay through Pennsylvania. Forbes had formed the theory that a stockaded camp and blockhouse, with magazines for provisions, should be constructed every forty miles; so that if it were not thought expedient to make settlements on the Ohio, such posts would furnish protection to the road, which thus would remain practicable; and in case of retreat in any expedition, they would furnish refuge to the troops if hard pressed.

The matter of route was in itself a revival of the old territorial dispute between Virginia and Pennsylvania. Virginia saw with extreme disfavour the prospect of opening out an independent line of road in the neighbouring northern province, and strongly advocated that the line of communication from fort Cumberland only should be maintained. It is plain from Forbes' correspondence that he was only desirous of wisely selecting the route, and that both his judgment and feeling were utterly untrammelled by what he had heard in Philadelphia. Virginia became greatly interested in the discussion ; no one in the province would give the least consideration to the idea, that a more eligible route could be found than the one advocated.

Washington strongly partook of this feeling. No one knew better the necessity of uprooting fort Duquesne, and that the attack could only be made with a sufficiently strong force. He had turned into great ridicule the proposal of one major Smith, who had undertaken to advance against it with a force of one thousand men. Fort Duquesne he described as "the source of all our ills." He was now twenty-six years old. On hearing of Forbes' appointment he asked Stanwix, who was then leaving for the Mohawk, to mention his name "as one who would gladly be distinguished in some measure from the *common run* [*sic*] of provincial officers, as I understand there will be a motley herd of us."[†] At this early date he advised that the place of assembly for troops should be fort Loudoun [Winchester], evidently with the opinion that the march must be by Braddock's road, deprecating the idea that fort Frederick on the Potomac, thirty-five miles to the southeast, should be the spot. One ground of the objection was that all the country people in the neighbourhood had fled : the consequence of the Indian attacks, settlement having been driven back easterly of this point, as had been the case at Carlisle in Pennsylvania.

All beyond this limit, to the west, was without inhabitants. Except water and forage for cattle, everything had to be carried. It became, therefore, imperative to establish the point at which the final organization should be made and the line of march which should be followed.

Raestown, ninety-three miles from Carlisle, was chosen as the spot. It was so called from one Rae, who had made an attempt to establish a plantation there, but he had failed in the endeavour. The spot was in no way different from the wilderness in which it stood. Bouquet had been sent forward to organize the troops as they arrived. A road was cut to

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[*] Washington to Stanwix, mount Vernon, 4th March, 1758. Sparks, II., p. 273.

[†] 10th April, 1758.

fort Cumberland, from which it was thirty miles distant ; so it was still possible for the Braddock road to be followed, or if expedient a new route could be traced out through Pennsylvania.

The troops commenced to assemble. On the 8th of June Montgomery's battalion arrived at Philadelphia ; some arms, tents, ammunition and artillery came three days later. North Carolina sent a small force by sea to Alexandria, and it was to march thence to fort Cumberland. Early in July Forbes was at Carlisle, and by this time Montgomery's battalion had reached this station, while some provincial troops had been marched forward to Raestown.

The plan of Forbes' campaign is easy to be understood. As he considered fort Cumberland to be at too great a distance from the Ohio, he determined to make his basis of operations on the shorter route, at the spot found to be best fitted for the purpose. He was desirous of keeping his determination secret, and to mislead the French; Washington, who still remained at fort Cumberland, received instructions, with a body of troops, to proceed along Braddock's road. This order Washington looked upon as portending a division of the force, and he called Bouquet's attention to the impracticability of effecting any junction of troops, passing by different routes, before reaching Salt Lick creek, within forty miles of fort Duquesne ; at the same time, he expressed his perfect readiness to obey all the orders he received.

Washington, however, could only see mischief in any change of route, and to the last prophesied failure. He wrote to Fauquier, governor of Virginia, that the Pennsylvanians, believing it to be their interest to have the line of expedition carried through their province, "because it secures their frontiers at present and their trade hereafter, a chain of forts being erected," * had prejudiced Forbes against the old road, and led him to believe that "we (the Virginians) *(sic)* were the partial people." Public feeling in Virginia became so dissatisfied, owing to the constant representations of the favour

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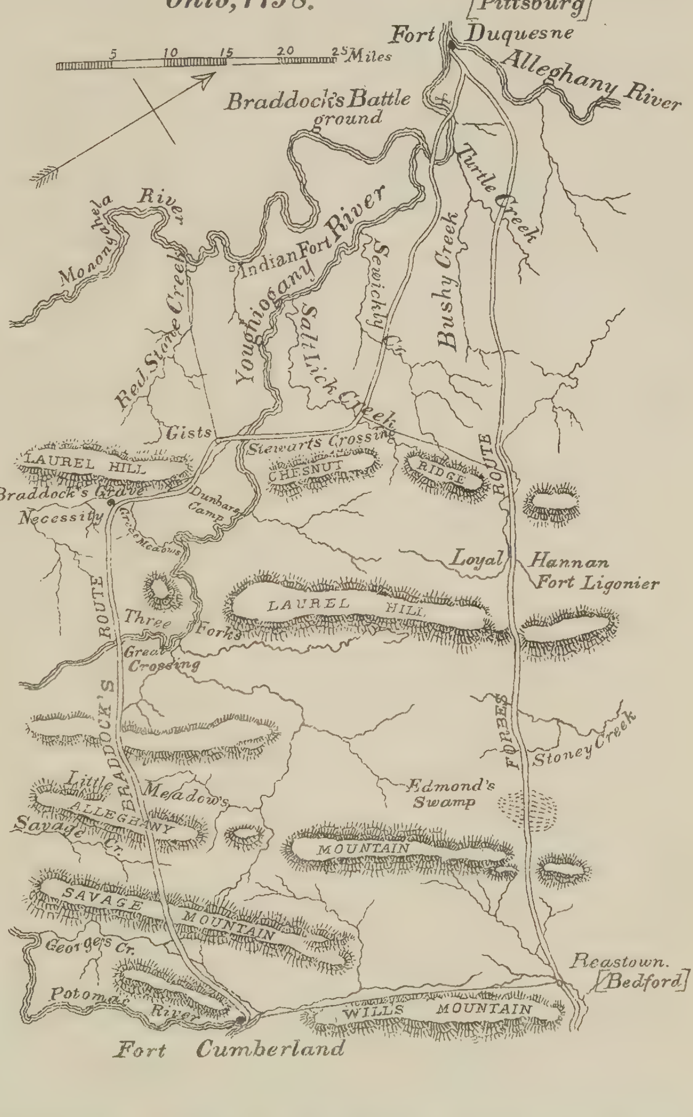
* Sparks, II., p. 308.

Map
Shewing route followed by the force under Brigadier Forbes from Bedford, Pennsylvania, to Fort Duquesne, Ohio, 1758.



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shewn to Pennsylvania by Forbes, and of the injustice which the province was experiencing, that when the assembly met on the 14th of September, it passed an act to withdraw, on the 1st of December, the 1st Virginian regiment and station it on the frontier, as a protection to the province. This vote was subsequently rescinded.

After assisting in cutting the road to Raestown, Washington sent out a party to open Braddock's road. He reported that few repairs were required, and earnestly recommended that it should be followed, representing that it would not be possible to obtain a direct road from Raestown. A meeting took place at the end of July between Washington and Bouquet, at which the latter stated that it had been definitely determined to follow the new line. Washington predicted that by so doing all would be lost, and, in accordance with the desire of Bouquet, gave in writing the reasons for this opinion. He considered that Raestown should be left on one side, and that the troops should march by fort Frederick to fort Cumberland. The distance from Carlisle to both places was practically the same, being 93 miles to Raestown and 97 miles to fort Cumberland. He did not, however, correctly state the further distance to fort Duquesne; by the Braddock military road it was 122 miles, by the Raestown road less than 90, making the difference 32 miles shorter, whereas Washington estimated it as only being ten miles.

Washington, although feeling strongly on the point that the choice was both a mistaken policy and unjust to Virginia, and believing that it had been determined by the influence of Pennsylvania intrigue on the general's mind, nevertheless stated his views with great moderation and ability.*

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* Washington sustained his view by the statement that when trade had been commenced with the tribes on the Ohio, in order to obtain the best line of communication, a reward had been offered to the Indians to discover the most favourable location. After much pains, they declared that the road leading to Wills' Creek was to be preferred. As such, it had been the route followed by the Pennsylvanian traders. The Ohio company in 1753 opened out the road. In 1754 it was improved by Washington himself, and in 1755 Braddock widened and completed it. It was now, he argued, in good condition, and could be at once

The success of Forbes' generalship is established by de Lévis, who records the surprise of the commandant, de Ligneris, at Grant's attack.* He had looked for the arrival of the force by Braddock's route, and had not conceived it possible that a second line would be opened out. It was on

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gone over, whereas the Reastown route would exact time and labour for its completion, and time so taken would prevent the blow being made during the season. Washington further argued that the statements of want of forage on the Braddock road were exaggerated, and that the danger threatened by the overflow of the rivers which the road crossed was not worth mentioning. Moreover, that the shortness of distance of the new line did not do away with the disadvantage of cutting a new road. While admitting that there were defiles in the Braddock line, not unattended with danger, Washington contended that there were none which could not be safely travelled. He therefore expressed the opinion, that the old road was infinitely preferable, and he recommended that "Great meadows" should be made a first point of deposit, and "Salt lick," thirty miles further, a second depot.

The argument of Forbes was to the effect that fort Cumberland was at too great a distance as a base of operation, Reastown being the place of deposit. The distance to fort Cumberland was thirty miles, and the fort was 122 miles from fort Duquesne, whereas the distance from Reastown to Loyal Hannan was forty miles, which was itself fifty miles only from fort Duquesne. The line of road to Loyal Hannan required only ordinary labour, which, with the numbers at command, was not a matter of consideration. Further examination had established that the road across Laurel Hill was unattended with extraordinary difficulty, and accordingly no great time would be necessary in the construction of the new route, and it offered the advantage of furnishing forage throughout.

The objections to the old road were, the want of forage which would be experienced, the defiles to be passed exposing the column to attack, the condition of the streams, which after the rains would overflow. In the sixty-four miles from Cumberland to Gist's there were not three localities where forage could be found; by the end of October the frost would have destroyed the grass, and when the rivers became overflowed, communication would be cut off from the rear. Bouquet wrote to Forbes that Washington could not satisfactorily answer these objections. The letter is in French: "Je n'y ay rien apris de satisfaisant. La plupart de ces Messrs. ne connoissent pas la différence d'une party et d'une armée et trouve facile tout ce que flatte leurs idées, sautant par dessus toutes les difficultés." [*sic*]. [Can. Arch., Bouquet collection, A., 10, p. 165].

By the end of August the station at Loyal Hannan was completed and established, Grant being placed in command there. The impediments which happened to the expedition arose from his ill-judged and ill-directed attack which took place on the 17th of September. Laurel Hill had been then passed. The advance of Forbes to fort Duquesne from Loyal Hannan, made in the short time of at the most six days, establishes that no difficulty was met between that point and fort Duquesne.

* Journal de Lévis, pp. 162-163.

that occasion he learned that 6,000 men were on the march, and within forty-five miles of his post.

The Indians were troublesome allies to Forbes, for they were unreliable and uncertain. Early in the season the Cherokees and Catawbas joined the expedition in some numbers, and were difficult to control. Forbes soon discovered that their friendship could be maintained only by presents, and that their equipment was a matter of cost. At the same time he sympathized with their fears of the future, and the many trying circumstances in which they were placed. He expressed his views to Pitt on the subject, and contended that they should be treated with honesty and prudence. The policy he advocated has been the invariable rule with the imperial government, and was the cause of much of the desire to be free from home control in this matter, which played so great a part in the American revolution. It is now the governing principle in the dominion.*

Strong parties were now engaged on the road through Pennsylvania from Raestown, and redoubts were built for the working parties at proper distances. It was not anticipated that insuperable difficulty would be experienced, although it would prove a work of great labour to form a road for the passage of artillery and wheel vehicles, especially in crossing Laurel hill. One deficiency constantly claiming attention was the want of waggons and the inferiority of the horses. The

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* Forbes' view on this point is worthy of preservation : "And this leads me to think that had those Indians, who were our friends, been managed with common prudence and honesty, that they must have continued so, as we could more easily and at a cheaper rate, have supplied them with provisions and their other necessarys. But by allowing them to be most grossly cheated and abused by the saddest of mortals, called Indian traders, in place of having a fair, open Markett, under the eye and direction of the government, and by allowing of a rage and madness in stretching out our settlement into their hunting countries, the only resource they had for sustenance, and that without any previous contract or agreement with them. They have thereby been driven into the arms of the French, who, with their usual chicane, make them believe they do not come to drive them out, but to build Forts among them to protect them against us. But I beg pardon for this digression to you, sir, who knows (*sic*) all those sad truths from better authority than I can pretend to you." Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., 87.2, p. 462.

Pennsylvania officers, knowing the feeling of Virginia regarding the route, volunteered to aid, with such information as they possessed. Major Armstrong was sent up with a trader named Dunning, who had often passed over the route. He started with an escort of a hundred volunteers to make the examination, with instructions to use great caution. In a fortnight Bouquet was enabled to report that the road across Laurel hill was less objectionable than the road from fort Littleton to fort Cumberland, and that no difficulties presented themselves after the passage of the mountain.

While Bouquet was working at the road, Forbes remained at Carlisle, in the worst of health, unable to move, prostrate with sickness. In the beginning of August he had somewhat recovered, and had he consulted only his health and ease, he would have sought quiet and repose. In the middle of August, Forbes managed to reach Shippensburg, twenty-one miles from Carlisle. When here, he heard of the fall of Louisbourg, and fired a *feu de joie* in honour of the event. Bouquet had arrived at Loyal Hannan, forty miles from Reastown; he had resolved to leave Grant in charge of the post, while he himself would carry on the road. Early in September Forbes was again seized with sickness. It was from this place he wrote, as to dividing the army he would consult Washington, although perhaps he would not follow his advice, as his behaviour about the roads was in no way like a soldier.* His letters shew his embarrassment from the jealousy with regard to the route.† On the 17th he heard of Bradstreet's success at fort Frontenac, and he fired a *feu de joie* in honour of it. While he was noticing these matters from Reastown, Bouquet on the same day was writing an account of the reverse which had been experienced in an expedition undertaken by major Grant.

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* Can. Arch., Bouquet papers, A. 10, p. 249.

† "I have seen with regret this some time past a jealousy and suspicion subsisting on the part of the Virginians which they can have no reason for, as I believe neither you nor I value one farthing where we get provisions from, provided we are supplied, or interest ourselves either with Virginia or Pennsylvania; which last I hope will be damned for their treatment of us with the waggons and every other thing where they could profit by us as from their impositions, altho' at the risk of our perdition." Can. Arch., Bouquet collection, Series A. 10, p. 256.

The advancing force had been much troubled by the Indian scouts, who watched their opportunity to scalp or make prisoners any men out in small parties. The cattle and horses were kept in the woods in the neighbourhood of Loyal Hannan, and often when in search of them and when returning, the men had been attacked. Bouquet ordered out two parties, each of one hundred strong, for the Indians were again extremely active, and captain Dagworthy and the Indians attached to the force were not present. As the detachments were preparing to march, major Grant, of the highlanders, spoke privately to Bouquet, and remonstrated against this step being taken, for it would only lead to the loss of life, and would effect no result. He suggested that he should be placed at the head of five hundred men, and be detached to reconnoitre fort Duquesne, obtain reliable information concerning the road, and learn the strength of the garrison. From the reports he had received, Grant believed that the French force, including the Indians, did not exceed six hundred men, and that a sortie could not be made with a force greater than that with which he would be present. He hoped to draw the garrison into an ambuscade, so he could obtain some prisoners. Bouquet gave his consent, it would appear unwillingly. The two parties were countermanded, and an informal council of war was held, at which colonel Byrd and major Lewis were present; it was there resolved that the attempt should be made.

Grant started with 300 Highlanders, 100 Royal Americans, 150 Virginians, 100 Maryland and 100 Pennsylvanian troops, being in all 750 men. His instructions were to proceed within five miles of fort Duquesne, and to send out exploring parties; to surprise the Indians outside the fort, attacking them with the bayonet: this duty effected, or if it could not be undertaken, he was to attract the notice of the garrison by beating his drums, retire and place himself in ambuscade, so that he could advantageously attack the pursuing party, and then retire. If the plan in any way failed, he was at once to retreat.

Bouquet saw the detachment start in the best of spirits on the 10th. Escaping the enemy's parties, on the 12th about three in the afternoon, Grant believed he was ten miles from the top of the hill overlooking the fort, when in reality he was sixteen miles distant. In the morning he detached Lewis with one hundred men and some Indians, to post himself in an ambuscade within five miles from the fort. Chew, an ensign in the force, and twenty men were sent to reconnoitre the ground, and draw the enemy into pursuit without unduly exposing themselves. Chew's Indians leaving him, he was obliged to conceal himself, and he only joined Lewis at eleven at night. Grant continued his march the following day; he found Lewis advantageously posted, but he was twelve miles from the fort. The whole force started at six, expecting to reach the hill over the fort at eleven; they did not, however, arrive until two in the morning. The Indian fires were then burned out, and there was no indication where the attack should be made, and nothing could be done.

Grant had now carried out his instructions, and his duty was to retire; but holding the opinion that the garrison was too weak to risk a sortie, he resolved to become the assailant. He ordered Lewis, with 100 Royal Americans, 200 highlanders, and 100 Virginians, to go forward and assail anything they should meet about the fort. They were not to heed the sentries, not to fire until close to the fort, and after the discharge of their pieces to charge with the bayonet. He would himself beat the retreat when it was time to retire, and they could come towards him in any order they saw fit. The distance did not exceed half a mile, and the men put on a white shirt over their uniform, to prevent mistakes of recognition. Grant placed himself with the remainder of the troops opposite the fort, and waited in some uneasiness for the indication that the attack had commenced. Major Lewis, however, returned with his force in confusion, to report that it was impossible to do anything, that the night was dark, the road bad and cumbered with logs of wood, and that there had been fences to pass, so the men had fallen into disorder, and it had been a mercy that they had not fired upon one another. Grant left Lewis in anger, and went to two of his officers, McKenzie and Rhor, to give orders for them to be in readiness to move, for, if practicable, he would attack. Feeling desirous that something should be done, he sent a party of fifty men to the spot where two or three fires had been seen. They found no Indians to attack, so they set fire to the house in the neighbourhood.

At daybreak of the 14th Grant ordered Lewis, with the Royal Americans and Virginians, to reinforce captain Bullet, who, with fifty men, had been posted to guard the horses and baggage, with instructions to place the whole force in ambuscade.

Owing to the fog at early dawn it was not possible to make any plan of the fort ; at seven the weather became more clear, and two officers were sent to sketch the works. They were sustained by a detachment. Grant states that in order to give confidence to the men he ordered the drums to beat the *reveillé*. In less than half an hour he saw the French troops come out of the fort in different parties, about 800 in number. They advanced skirmishing, with little order, taking advantage of any covering, moving forward briskly. Their attack was directed against the men posted on the left under captain Macdonald. Both he and the lieutenant, Campbell, were killed. Lieutenant Macdonald was wounded and the detachment, being overpowered, gave way. The 100 Pennsylvanians posted on the right, left the ground without firing a shot. In less than half an hour Grant's whole force fell in great confusion, being attacked from all directions.

The French were now reinforced from the fort and the action became more general. The British, however, continued to hold their ground, when Grant, resolving to retire, sent word to Lewis that he would join him where he had been posted, and that he must make the best stand he could until Grant fell back to him.

Lewis, however, had heard the firing, and urged by his officers had felt it his duty to advance in support of the main body. In doing so, he took a different route to that by which he had passed that morning. The latter was the route taken by Grant in his retreat, so the two parties missed one another.

When Lewis had ascended the height his men were much exhausted, and he came within the range of the enemy. Grant had then retired. Lewis attempted to make a stand, but overpowered, his men gave way before a greatly superior force.

Grant came up with Bullet's small detachment. He had been attacked, and had gallantly sustained an unequal fight. It was now persevered in, and it was here that Bullet reports that Grant, when pressed to retire, replied that he would stand so long as a man would fight with him. "My heart is broke," said Grant in his bitterness; "I will not survive this day." They were surrounded; Grant was known, and the French, calling on him by name, asked him to surrender. The French shewed great forbearance: they were determined if possible to take him alive. Bullet's party continued the fight with some confusion, for the men ceased to obey orders; finally they were seized with a general panic. Bullet with some others escaped. Grant, finding himself with about a dozen men, accepted the quarter offered him. They were then about two miles from the fort, and it was eleven o'clock in the day, when the French were called back. Major Lewis was taken prisoner, likewise two captains, four lieutenants, and two ensigns: the Indians also carried away some prisoners.

CHAPTER V.

Bouquet, made conscious of the reverse by the arrival of stragglers, sent a force of three hundred men to cover the retreat of those who had escaped. On the roll being called, two hundred and seventy-three were missing, and of this number two hundred and thirty may be described as killed. The loss of the French, by the report of de Lévis, was twenty men.

We also learn from him * that the French brought into the field their whole force of 1,500 men; 600 Indians are mentioned as being present, but it is not stated whether distinct or included in the number given.

The British loss was much exaggerated by the French, being stated at five hundred. It was sufficiently severe, every third man being placed *hors de combat:* a serious catalogue of disaster.

Washington, with the Virginian regiment which had been quartered at fort Cumberland, was ordered to Raestown, where he arrived at the end of September The militia of Maryland was sent to occupy the fort and to keep open the line of communication.

The British force was in no way depressed by Grant's defeat. The desire was stronger than before to advance against the fort. It was felt that the attack had been made under misapprehension: it was now known that reinforcements had lately arrived, and that their presence accounted for the greater strength of the French than had been anticipated. The impression was also formed that several Delawares and Shawnees were on their side in the action. One of the consequences was the desertion by the Indians from the British force. Bouquet himself looked forward to being attacked in his turn, and he wrote to Forbes that in two days he would be ready to receive the enemy.

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* Journal, p. 162.

Grant's presence had first made de Ligneris aware that so large a force was established on the line of road which was being opened. He resolved, accordingly, to send a strong detachment to observe Loyal Hannan, and, if expedient to attack the post. Captain Aubry, of the marine service, started, according to French accounts, with 600 men and some Indians, about 900 in all. Bouquet was absent at the work of opening the road, and colonel Burd, of the Virginia fort, was in command. On the 12th of October, as the French were marching upon Loyal Hannan, they came upon a picket of fifty men, which broke and fled. On reaching Loyal Hannan, the French commenced to fusillade the place. The attack lasted two hours, and was without effect, the British being protected by a breastwork with five cannon and cohorns. Moreover, they were more numerous than the French. No attempt was made at a sortie, and the garrison remained content with a defence of the post. While the action was going on many of the horses, which were in the woods, and several cattle, were taken and driven off. Burd describes himself as being harassed during the night, but the attack could have only been a feint to cover the retreat. The French carried off the horses they had seized with their baggage and wounded. There was no attempt to follow them, or to make reprisals. They inflicted no injury on the British garrison ; on the other hand, little credit can be given to the defenders of the fort, that the French were permitted to return unmolested.

De Ligneris was fully awake to the danger of his position, he was impotent to defend the fort, being without provisions. Two months had elapsed since the destruction of fort Frontenac, whence his supplies had been sent ; the importance of Bradstreet's success was now manifest by the influence it exercised, sufficient to counterbalance the consequences of the disaster at Carillon. De Ligneris well knew that there was no probability of relief, and a few weeks were only to pass before navigation would be closed by winter. One chance only lay open to him: to repeat the exploit of de Beaujeu against Braddock, and attack Bouquet on the line of march. The conditions, however, were no longer the same. Had such a course been otherwise feasible, the French were suffering from the drawback, that they had lost their influence over the Indians. They had ceased to be able to feed the hungry crowd of expectants who came to the fort, and what greater sign of weakness could appeal to the Indian understanding.

There were other causes which had led to this condition. Among the many services rendered by Forbes, by no means the least important, was the part taken by him in effecting the Indian treaty at Easton. At the commencement of the campaign he had entertained hopes of securing a strong force of Indians. Generally they had shewn faith in the British operations. At the end of April seven hundred had joined the troops at fort Loudoun; there were neither arms nor equipment to give them, and their services could only be retained by supplying their wants. From time to time they left the force. In July two hundred were present: in September eighty only remained.

As early as June, Forbes reported to Pitt that the French Indians were in a starving condition, no provisions being given them. His own difficulties had led him to apply to the Pennsylvanian authorities. He was told that there was no money, and that the expense of management must fall upon the crown. He complained that he could obtain little assistance either from sir William Johnson or from the southern commissioner, Mr. Atkin: nevertheless it appeared to Forbes that it was feasible to effect a peace with the Ohio Indians so that their services would not be available to the French.

He formed the strong conviction that a convention should be called, and measures taken to convince the Indians of the advantages they would derive by sustaining the British. It was the argument by which the Indian could be permanently influenced; however his imagination might be excited by the ceremonial form of the religion taught by the French missionaries and by the *cameraderie* of those who lived among them. One great cause of discontent with the French was from their present inability to satisfy the inextinguishable greed of the Indian requirements. Moreover the knowledge that a powerfully equipped force was marching to the Ohio to attack the fortress led many to waver in their fidelity.

Forbes' persistent assertion of the necessity of some step being taken finally overcame the hesitation of sir William Johnson, and he was equally fortunate with the provincial authorities. A messenger was finally sent to the Indians of the Ohio with offers of good will and friendliness. The person selected was a Moravian brother named Post, who readily accepted the duty, which, although its object was the establishment of peace, involved hardship and danger. As might be looked for, the French opposed all such negotiations. Nevertheless, the meeting took place in October : representatives of the Six Nations were present, and it was agreed that a message inviting all the tribes on the Ohio to join in a convention of peace should be sent to them. It was carried by Post, accompanied by some white and Indian associates. In consequence, a general council was held, and the offers were accepted. The Ohio Indians ceased to range themselves on the side of the French, and de Ligneris was without the Indian support, which would have made it possible, efficiently to oppose the British advance.

On the 30th of October, Washington arrived at Loyal Hannan, and joined in the effort of opening out the road. In the middle of October Forbes was at Raestown, suffering from what must have been an attack of dysentery. He was unable to sit a horse, or endure the motion of a carriage : he was carried forward on a hurdle suspended between two led horses. Prostrate from sickness, he continued to give orders for the conduct of the expedition, and to urge the continuance of effort. Naturally, he felt the responsibility of the choice of route ; and that in case of failure, the discredit would fall on him. Colonel Stephen, of the Virginians, had written to Washington that the road beyond Loyal Hannan was impracticable. Forbes communicated the fact to Bouquet, telling him that Washington and Byrd would be glad if it were the case.* He knew perfectly well, that out of Pennsylvania feeling was against him: that in Virginia failure would not wholly be unwelcome; and he has left behind his strong protest against this discontent and its misgiving.

It was from the sense of what was necessary to attain success, that he continued to give his untiring personal direction to all that was being done. There are few more touching narratives in the history of this continent, than the spectacle of this loyal, brave and devoted Scotchman sacrificing all that made life desirable to the discharge of his duty. Rest, quiet, ease, freedom from anxiety, were necessary to the recovery of his health. The failure to obtain them was the certainty of death. But there was no faltering in his purpose. He sacrificed the very hope of his recovery to the destruction of the fortress, which had brought such misery on the western territory of Pennsylvania and Virginia. It was from its walls that the bands of ruthless Indians had devastated the frontier, to surprise so many homesteads, that the country had receded to a state of nature. The object to be attained was its uprootal, and Forbes had determined, were life granted him, the home of the destroyer should be swept away.

November came, with all its dreariness. The trees were becoming bare; the evergreens alone remained, motionless by the scantily-clothed, brown-leaved beeches, whose foliage every wind scattered. The swamps were unfrozen, but the waters were icy cold; the air was sharp with the first frost of the season. The men were insufficiently clothed, unprovided with all which makes a campaign in the commencement of winter bearable. It had not been anticipated that the operations would last so long; it now appeared as if the season were to pass away and nothing more would be done; that the bulk of the troops would return to winter quarters, leaving a garrison of strength sufficient to hold Loyal Hannan; that the attack of the fort would be deferred until spring, when the snow was gone and the woods passable, so that the march could be renewed; and that for the present all operations should cease.

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* Can. Arch., Forbes to Bouquet, Series A., 10, p. 268.

Carried on the hurdle, Forbes reached Loyal Hannan. In his correspondence he made the best of everything; there is no doleful dread of failure. Frank in ordinary matters, he made few confidants with regard to the future. Even with men whom he fully trusted, such as Bouquet, he was reticent when he felt it wise to be so. He was never one to cast the blame on another. He had a kindly word for even misfortune. He wrote of Grant after his reverse: "My friend Grant most certainly lost his wits, and by his thirst for fame brought on his own perdition, and ran great risque of ours."

He arrived at Loyal Hannan on the 5th of November. The advance parties were in the field "blazing" the line.* Forbes heard much irresolution and doubt, and being desirous of obtaining a decided expression of current opinion, he called a council of war. The council met on the 11th, and the affirmative and negative for prosecuting the expedition are placed on record.†

The reasons for persevering were the hope of gaining possession of the Ohio, the desire to obtain control over the Indians who had previously ravaged the province, and to meet public expectation by the capture of the fort.

Against continuing operations were: the want of proper clothing, and the impossibility of obtaining it; the scarcity of provisions, and the uncertainty of supply; the want of horses and forage; the necessity of husbanding the supplies; the risk of losing the artillery, if forced to retreat; the impossibility of holding the fort if taken, no provision having been made for that purpose; the risk of the loss of a battle which would expose the province to an Indian invasion. The conclusion ran: "The risks, being so superior to the advantages, left no doubt as to the course which prudence dictates."

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* This word, in use in Canada to denote tracing a way through the woods by making marks on trees with an axe leaving the cut apparent through the bark, has been derived from the French word "*balise*." The first meaning of *balise* is a sea mark, a beacon. In Canada the term was applied to the evergreens placed on the rivers and open ground to trace out the winter roads on the ice and snow, probably given by the settlers from the sea coast of Brittany. It is not a difficult transition from "balised" to "blazed."

† The council was composed of colonels Bouquet, Montgomery, St. Clair, Washington, Byrd, Armstrong, Burd and Mercer. Can. Arch., Series A., 13, p. 341.

This euphemistic expression of opinion had little influence upon Forbes. The works upon the road were continued. Washington's letters* show that on the 18th the road had been advanced twenty-three miles, and that it had been traced within twelve miles of the fort. Forbes now prepared to carry out his purpose. The intelligence had reached him that the strength of the garrison had been greatly reduced and the supply of provisions almost exhausted. He selected from his force 2,500 picked men; they were to march without tents or baggage, each man carrying his blanket and his haversack of rations. The march commenced on the 18th or 19th and the force was organized at Loyal Hannan, and it was from that post the start was made. It was formed in three columns: Washington on the right, Montgomery in the centre, Bouquet on the left Flanking parties were carefully organized, and the few light horse reconnoitred with the advance guard. There was to be no second episode similar to the destruction of Braddock's force. As the columns advanced the drums at the head of each division beat their measured tap so the drum could be heard if the force were not in direct view. By these means, while the advance was regularly made, the line was kept, order was preserved and confusion avoided.

Forbes on his hurdle, with an officer's guard, was carried in advance of Montgomery's column. On the evening of the 23rd the troops were within twelve miles of the fort; the Indian scouts reported that a thick smoke extended up the valley of the river. A few hours later the intelligence was received that the fort had been abandoned and everything burned. A halt was made on the 24th, in order that the true situation should be known, and, it is to be presumed, to guard against surprise.

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* They are dated Chestnut ridge, the 15th; Bushy run, the 17th; Armstrong's Camp, the 18th.

Early on the morning of the 25th, with serried ranks, the small force continued its march to the fort. As it entered the clearing, the charred ruins of the building with its surrounding tenements came into view. The fire had destroyed all that had formerly been. The walls of the fort had been undermined and were partially blown up. There were two forts: one which stood at the confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela had been carefully and laboriously constructed, with strong works contained in a narrow space. The second fort was on the bank of the Alleghany, in the form of a parallelogram; it was unfinished, several of the outer works only having lately been begun. About thirty stacks of chimneys were standing to shew where houses had stood. One magazine had been exploded with the walls, the other was uninjured. Sixteen barrels of ammunition, a large quantity of old iron, some gun barrels, and a cart load of scalping knives were found there. It was difficult to determine whether the French had cast their cannon into the river, or carried them away on *bateaux*. At a later date Amherst describes them as having been found in the river.*

The dead bodies of those slain in Grant's attack still lay on the field unburied, within a quarter of a mile of the fort. The fact speaks little for the humanity of the French, or their care for the health of their own garrison.†

On the 25th of November the British took possession of the ground on which the ruins stood. It was the last day of French rule on the Ohio. Within a few hours of the event the site was called Pittsburg, in honour of the great minister. Posterity has accepted the baptism, although few remember the name and services of the general who conferred it. Forbes related how the old title had passed away through conquest, and that the spot in future would be identified with Pitt's glory.*

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* Amherst to Pitt, 4th February, 1759. Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., vol. 89, p. 107.

† Captain Heslet, in a letter to the Rev. Dr. Alison, states that a boy twelve years old, who had been their prisoner, escaped on the 2nd [? 22nd] instant, informed them that they had carried a prodigious quantity of wood into the fort, and that five prisoners taken at Grant's defeat had been burned on the parade. Other prisoners had been given to the Indians, who tomahawked them on the spot. The story is not authenticated. It has also been stated that the Indians had placed upon poles the heads of the highlanders killed in the skirmish with Grant's force, and in derision hung their kilts around them. It appears to me to be a romance of after production: it is not confirmed. I do not myself consider it worthy of credence.

After the return of Aubry from his expedition, de Ligneris saw that his only hope lay in the lateness of the season; that an attack before spring would become impossible. He resolved accordingly to reduce the strength of the garrison, retaining such a force that he could feed, with the hope that during the winter he would be cared for. Aubry returned to the Illinois with his detachment; Saint Ours carried the men of his force to Montreal, where he arrived at the end of November; de Bellaître started for Detroit with the troops he had brought. There now only remained 400 of the garrison with de Ligneris. Some of the artillery and the invalids he sent with Aubry to the Illinois, descending the Ohio.

As the scouts informed de Ligneris of the march of Forbes, that each hour the three columns were advancing nearer to enclose him in their fold, he resolved to destroy the fort, and to abandon it. On the 23rd of November he sent off his canoes with all he could remove to fort Machault, at the junction of the Alleghany, with French creek; about one hundred miles from Pittsburg, now known as Venango.† When all

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* "I have used the freedom of giving your name to fort du Quesne, as I hope it was in some measure the being actuated by your spirit that now makes me master of the place. Nor could I help using the same freedom in the naming of the two other forts that I built; (plans of which I send you) the one Fort Ligonier, the other Bedford. I hope the name-fathers will take them under their protection, in which case those dreary deserts will soon be richest and most fertile of any possest by the British in N° America." Forbes to Pitt. Pittsburg, 27th November, 1758. Can. Arch., Series 87.2, p. 489.

* In captain Lee's journal, 19th September to 4th October, 1759, the following distances are given in Bouquet's handwriting:—

From Niagara to Presqu' Isle..................	230 miles.
Presqu' Isle to le Beuf.........................	21 "
Le Beuf to Venango...	172 "
Venango to Pittsburg.........................	140 "
	563

[Can. Arch., Bouquet Coll., Series A., 14.2, p. 583.]

had departed, he blew up the walls, and burned the outer buildings.

It remained for the British to establish themselves at the abandoned fort. It was not possible to follow de Ligneris up the Alleghany to fort Machault, for winter had commenced, and there were no supplies. Such an expedition itself called for preparation, and it remained a duty to be undertaken in the spring. Moreover, the force was three hundred miles from Philadelphia, the men without warm clothing, exposed to the severe cold. There was no fear of any permanent want of supplies ; the road was open, and the convoys could be sufficiently protected. The men had submitted without a murmur to their privations, and could be perfectly relied upon ; but it was plain that the operations could not be extended, and all that could be done was to secure the conquest.

A spot was selected and protected with a stockade and made as defensible as possible. Lieutenant-colonel Mercer was placed in charge with a force of provincial troops.

Forbes wrote to governor Denny, of Pennsylvania, the day after he had taken possession, congratulating him upon the event, adding that he would be compelled to leave two hundred of the Pennsylvanian troops to join a proportion of Virginians and Marylanders. "I hope," added Forbes, "the Provinces will be so sensible of the great Benefit of this new Acquisition as to enable me to fix this noble, fine Country to all Perpetuity under the Dominion of Great Britain." He asked for instructions with regard to the provincial troops ; and that the governor would remember that Montgomery's battalion and the Royal Americans, after so long and tedious a campaign, "were to be taken care of in some comfortable winter quarters." "I flatter myself," continued Forbes, "that if I get to Philadelphia under your Cares and good Companys, I shall run a good chance of re-establishing a health, that I run the risque of ruining to give your Province all the Satisfaction in the Power of my weak Abilities."

It was not to be. Forbes' health had been too rudely

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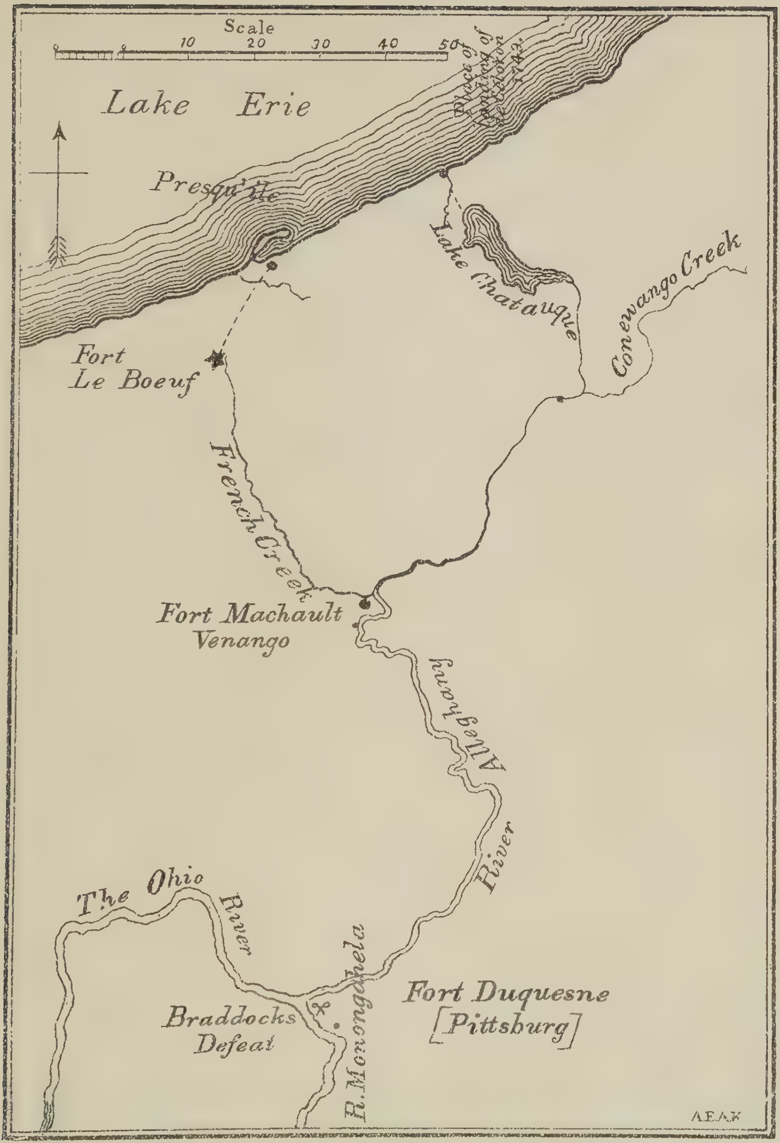
* New York Doc., X., p. 905.



Skeleton map shewing Ohio forts

affected by the severity of the weather and the fatigues of the march to recover from the exhaustion which his strength had suffered. He was carried back on the hurdle with the troops in their homeward march. At a halt, where necessary, a chimney was built in advance, so that a fire could be lighted for his warmth and sustentation. On one occasion, at a place called Tomhack camp, the chimney was not built, the damp wood would not burn, and Forbes had to sit shivering and suffering in the cold. In spite of the severity of the weather, he continued his journey; it must have been a period of trial and pain. On the second of January he left fort Bedford, as Raestown was now called; a week later he passed through Carlisle, to arrive at Philadelphia shortly after the 14th of January. Owing to his bad health, he had applied for leave of absence, and he had received an answer that the leave would be granted. He still performed his duty, and, to shew his satisfaction with the conduct of the troops composing the column in the campaign, at the end of February he ordered a medal to be struck, to be presented by him to every officer in the expedition.*

It was to be one of the many unfilled purposes with which history abounds. The hand of death was on Forbes; he had not a month to live. He was to witness no one of the triumphal consequences of his generalship; he was to pass away before even the commencement of the important operations of the year, which were to prove one series of successes. He struggled between life and death for some three weeks, to die on the 10th of March, 1759, at Philadelphia. He was buried in Christ Church, of that city.†

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* Lieutenant James Grant to Bouquet. Philadelphia, 20th February. "General Forbes has ordered a medal for the officers who have been in the last campaign. The medal has on one side the representation of a road, cut through an immence (*sic*) forest, over rocks and mountains, the motto, 'Per tot discrimina;' on the other side are represented the confluence of the Ohio and Monongahela rivers, a fort in flames in the forks of the rivers at the approach of general Forbes, carried in a litter, followed with the army marching in columns with cannon. The motto: 'Ohio Britannica Consilio Manuque.' This is to be worn round the neck with a dark blue ribbon." [Can. Arch., A., 14, p. 81.]

† The statement of the Pennsylvania *Gazette*, that he died on the Sunday

No monument is erected to Forbes, either in Christ Church, where he was buried, in his native place, or at any spot in the empire which he served so faithfully. No *Campo Santo*, devoted to the memory of the illustrious dead, displays a tablet to record his services, his abnegation, and his undaunted resolution. Pennsylvania and Virginia, and Pittsburg which he founded, have not only forgotten all that he achieved, but have ceased to remember even that he lived. Notwithstanding this neglect, his name will ever remain prominently emblazoned in its own nobility in the page of history as that of one, whose genius, firmness, and patriotism secured for the British race the valley of the Ohio, with the southern shore of lake Erie, and the territory extending to the Mississippi.

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before the 15th of March (the 11th) is incorrect. I am indebted to Dr. Edward A. Foggo, rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, for the precise date of brigadier Forbes' death. Dr. Foggo was good enough to take much trouble in this matter at my request. I learn from him that the record simply reads "Brigadier General Forbes," with the date. Forbes was buried near the south wall of the church building on 2nd street, between Market and Arch streets. Dr. Foggo has carefully pointed out that this is not the larger cemetery at 5th and Arch street, where Franklin and other prominent men were buried. The ground about the church on the south side has been levelled, and laid over with brick ; many stones which project are still to be seen ; no one, however, shews the spot where the remains of Forbes lie. Tradition places his resting place near the building in the centre of the lot. I am sure there are many who with myself will acknowledge their obligations to Dr. Foggo.

CHAPTER VI.

The belief was firmly established throughout Canada that Quebec was unassailable by water. Men who were little beyond middle life remembered the failure of Walker in 1711, and to all it must have been a familiar tradition. From the miserable collapse of that expedition, the opinion prevailed that no English ships, without competent pilots, would attempt the ascent of the Saint Lawrence. The intricacies of the channel between île aux Coudres and the island of Orleans were regarded as making navigation impossible, unless by those acquainted with them; and no one doubted that, the landmarks being removed, an attempt to ascend it must end in disaster. The feeling was likewise entertained that the defence of Quebec was particularly the duty of the French navy; that it was to France its protection was confided. Accordingly little care had been given to guard against any possible dangers of the future. The main obligation of Canada was considered to be the safeguarding of lake Champlain; and if opportunity permitted, to attack Albany. In the west the possession of lake Ontario was regarded to be indispensable in order to admit of supplies being delivered at Niagara, whence they could be forwarded to the Ohio, to Detroit, and to the further western posts. Montcalm during the war looked unfavourably on the maintenance of forts at extreme distances, as the duty of garrisoning them dissipated the strength of the province. The general feeling was in their favour, for they were regarded as the mainstay of the fur trade, and so many were interested in its profits that the policy of protecting these posts obtained almost universal support.

There was one strong sentiment in the Canadian mind which could always be called forth, the intensity of belief in the truth of the form of worship universally professed, joined to a sentiment amounting to contempt for those who differed from it. They held that they were possessors of the only pure faith, and such peoples who did not entertain it, were wanting in true civilization and entitled to little consideration. There was no great philosophy in these views, for, except the "*livre d'heures*," there was scarcely a book to be seen in French Canada, certainly outside the higher ranks of society; but be the sentiment what it might, it was powerfully felt and it had been earnestly appealed to. The conviction had become certain that Canada was under the special protection of the Virgin. There were frequent processions of large numbers to implore the intercession of "*Notre Dame*," and private prayers were alike offered for the destruction of the heretic, should he attempt an invasion of the sacred soil. Large sums of money were given to obtain the supplications of the clergy, and all that was hoped for as obtainable from persistent devotion, was earnestly implored in every city, parish and household, at least by devout women.

During the first months of the year there was no serious dread of any special danger to which Quebec was exposed: it was even considered that some aggressive steps might be taken against Louisbourg. De Boishébert went to Cape Breton, but he was quickly made sensible of the impossibility of any such attempt. He learned that the British were too firmly established on the Saint John to be assailed; that the fort had been placed in repair and garrisoned, and the French driven from their settlements even as far as the modern Fredericton, and that their settlements on the Petitcodiac had been uprooted and burned. De Boishébert accordingly ascended the river some seventy-five miles, and, leaving Saint Simon in command at a post which he established, he returned to Quebec. De Boucherville he placed at Miramichi.

De Benoit commanded at La Presentation. In February he sent word to Montreal that he expected that both his own fort and Point au Baril would be attacked, for, having been informed of the activity of the British, he concluded some movement was threatened against these posts.

Montcalm arrived in Montreal on the 7th of March, and preparations were commenced for the next campaign. All the grain that could be gathered in the government of Montreal was brought in. During the succeeding six months 8,000 *minots* only had been obtained; it had been estimated that the supply would amount to 30,000 *minots.* By making a perquisition on the mills, and taking possession of what was assigned to the *dîme*, 4,000 additional *minots* were considered available.

It was resolved also to strengthen the western posts. On the 26th of March, Pouchot, with five hundred Canadians, was detached to command at Point au Baril. He was to finish the vessels being built there for service on lake Ontario and he was afterwards to take command at Niagara. De Villars, a captain of "la Sarre," was ordered, with five hundred land troops and five hundred Canadians, under Marin, to leave on the 1st of April and reach the Cedars on the ice, so that in the opening of the navigation they could go forward to Point au Baril. The guns and the rigging for the vessels were carried with them. Pouchot was immediately to proceed to Niagara with seven hundred men and to send on supplies to the Ohio forts.

In April Pouchot arrived at Niagara and relieved de Vassan. He had authority to move the troops from Presqu'île, de Bœuf and Machault, so that in case of attack on himself, he could mass three thousand men at Niagara. Pouchot, hearing of no movement, and believing, from the report of the Indians, that none was designed, sent on reinforcements to de Ligneris, for the hope remained that fort Duquesne could be retaken; Pouchot himself remained at Niagara with between three and four hundred men.

Preparations were made for the defence of lake Champlain. Xebecs* were constructed at Saint John's, armed and manned to cruise on the lake. What was feared was, that while an advance was made against Carillon there might be a descent of the rapids by an overpowering force to attack Montreal. At this time there was no great anxiety for the safety of Quebec. The supply of the troops was the most serious consideration. The provisions would soon be entirely consumed, and unless ships bringing relief arrived from France, there would be positive destitution. There were only 80,000 lbs. of powder in the colony. There were 4,000 land troops available for defence, and it was considered 10,000 or 12,000 *habitants* were capable of bearing arms, and could be brought into the field.

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* Small, three-masted vessels: they are mostly in use in the Mediterranean.

On the 10th of May de Bougainville arrived in Quebec from France. The squadron consisted of two frigates and eighteen transports, with a limited supply of provisions, about 6,000 quarters of wheat, and some munitions of war. He brought also some reinforcements; he was the bearer of several *brevets* of promotion: De Vaudreuil received the grand cross; Montcalm was appointed lieutenant-general and commander; de Lévis, *maréchal de camp;* and Dumas, major-general; with many less important appointments. De Bougainville was also the bearer of the important information that Quebec was to be attacked, with the depressing certainty that no further assistance would be sent from Versailles; that no aid was to be hoped for. Quebec, accordingly, demanded the greatest attention, and it was determined to concentrate for its defence, all the force of the country which could with safety be withdrawn elsewhere.

Previous to Montcalm leaving Montreal, the final arrangements were made for the defence of lake Champlain. De Bourlamaque was sent in command, with twenty-five hundred men, of a force variously composed of the battalions of "la Reine," "de Berry," and twelve hundred Canadians. His secret instructions were, that if extremely pushed, he should make a pretence of defending Carillon, and while doing so he was to undermine and, when ready, blow up the fortress. The same proceeding, if necessary, was to be followed at fort Saint Frederick, Crown point. The force should then retreat to île aux Noix, the fortifications of which were immediately to be commenced. De la Corne, with 1,200 men, was sent to the head of the Galops rapids, the first of the series, seven miles below Prescott and Ogdensburg.* He established himself at the largest island of the small group, now known as Galops island, by the sides of which the first short rapid passes. He was to guard the river and watch Oswego.

Every attention was now bestowed on the defence of Quebec. De Vaudreuil arrived there on the 28th of May, having been preceded by Montcalm on the 23rd ; de Lévis arrived towards the end of the month. Plans of defence were considered, in which de Lévis took a leading part. It was determined more efficiently to enclose the exposed parts of the city. Fire ships and rafts were made, a floating battery was constructed, capable of carrying from ten to twelve 18-prs. and 24-prs. Several boats were constructed to carry one 6-pr. or 8-pr. It was resolved that the river side should be intrenched from the Saint Charles to Montmorency falls, and redoubts constructed at intermediate distances. The troops were encamped on the right bank of the Saint Charles, something more than half a mile from the city. The regiments present were "La Sarre," "Royal Rousillon," "Languedoc," "Guienne," and "Béarn," while the militia of Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec were formed into three battalions, officered by men from the marine corps.

On de Lévis' arrival a council of war was held. The channel of the river Saint Charles, a short distance from its mouth, was closed by two sunken vessels, on which batteries were constructed ; a bridge of boats was thrown over the river Saint Charles, to connect the two banks. De Lévis was stationed at the extreme east, with the Montreal battalions, having under his charge the line from Beauport to Montmorency. De Bougainville was ordered to assume command at Beauport, and to direct the operations to the middle of the plain. The five battalions of the regular troops and the Three

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* These rapids, about a mile and a half in length, rarely exceed in force an extremely swift current. After half a mile of quiet water the rapids of point Cardinal succeed, known in modern times as "Farren's point rapids." In connection with the Iroquois rapids they are overcome by a canal 7⅝ miles in length, with a guard lock and two lift locks. Their total mean height is 15ft. 9in. The island in question is within the United States territory.

Rivers corps were stationed in the centre. The Quebec battalion was placed on the right. De Vaudreuil and Montcalm established their headquarters in the centre of the plain.

The *traverse* was sounded with the view of sinking a dozen vessels there, and making the ascent of the British fleet impossible. The design, however, was not carried out, but all the indications and landmarks were removed. To assure the safety of the ships, they were sent up the river to near the Grondines. The crews of these vessels, fourteen hundred in number, were retained in the city to aid in its defence, specially to be used in working the guns.

De Vaudreuil's instructions were urgent, that in all cases the women and children should retire to the woods with the cattle. His orders on this subject were marked by the exaggeration habitual to him : "Tell them," he said,* in a letter found in one of the houses in the neighbourhood of Quebec, "that the order had been expressively given him by the king. It was the only way to prevent the melancholy fate which the English had resolved to make the inhabitants undergo. It was their design to massacre everything that was Canadian, without distinction to sex or age." Everyone capable of bearing arms over fifteen years of age was called into the field, and ordered to hold himself in readiness to join the army ; the *curés* were directed to aid in carrying out these orders as fully as possible. According to the statement of Joannés, the major of Quebec, in many instances the cattle were found out by Wolfe's parties, so the British troops in no way wanted beef.

While in England the successes at Louisbourg, at Frontenac and at fort Duquesne in some measure counterbalanced the deplorable failure at Ticonderoga, the emotions awakened by that gigantic blunder did not rapidly pass away. It may be said that so long as past events are read and studied by those who can identify themselves with the narratives which they read, the episode of Ticonderoga must ever remain a painful chapter of Canadian history. Pitt's nature was not one to be daunted, however much it might have been affected by this painful reverse, and he resolved in the spring to organize an expedition which would indisputably affirm British rule in North America. The French were to be followed home in their remaining strongholds and driven out from the possession of them throughout the valley of the Saint Lawrence.

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* Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 88, p. 136.

On Wolfe's arrival in London, hearing of the design * he wrote to Pitt stating his readiness to serve in America. He was then in bad health, as he told his friend Rickson ; he was suffering from gravel and rheumatism. His desire was to serve in Germany. "If," he said at this date, "my poor talent were considered, they would place me in the cavalry, because nature has given me good eyes and a warmth of temper to follow first impressions."

The system of those days was to give as little consideration to the officer as could be given. The principle of local rank was introduced, so that the duties of a higher and more responsible position were exacted without the pay, rank and allowances which should accompany them. Thus Wolfe had merely been a brigadier in America, and when he returned to England he reverted to his position as a colonel.†

Wolfe rejoined the regiment of which he was colonel, the 67th, at Salisbury. The 20th regiment, of which he had been the lieutenant-colonel, was in Germany, destined to gain the highest honour the following year at Minden, on the 1st of August. Wolfe's feeling led him to desire service on the continent.‡ The 67th soon felt the influence of Wolfe's

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* 22nd of November, 1758.

† It was the same principle in the navy; thus after the close of the siege of Quebec Saunders ordered lord Colville, then in command of the "Northumberland," to Halifax with his own vessel, four more ships of the line and two or three frigates, with instructions to ascend to Quebec as early as the season would permit. "I propose," added Saunders, "to appoint a captain to the 'Northumberland,' under Lord Colville, and to order his Lordship to hoist a Broad pennant." [Can. Archives, A. & W. I., 88, p. 48.] Thus making Lord Colville perform admiral's duty on captain's pay.

‡ He wrote to captain Parr, a captain of the 20th, on the 6th of December: "It is my fortune to be cursed with American service, yours to serve in an army commanded by a great and able Prince, where I would have been if my choice and inclinations had been consulted." [Wright's Life of Wolfe, p. 468.]

genius, for he introduced the system which had made his former regiment what it then was. He was absent in Bath,* where he received a letter from Pitt summoning him to town, and the offer of the command was made to him. It appears that Wolfe had authority to select his subordinates. Towards the end of December he wrote to Pitt, pointing out that a squadron of eight or ten sail, proceeding to Bic, would prevent all relief reaching Quebec this season : the policy subsequently followed by sending admiral Durell and a strong force to the Saint Lawrence in advance of the expedition.

On the list of the staff being submitted to the king, he objected to the name of colonel Guy Carleton, afterwards lord Dorchester, who played so prominent a part in Canadian history. Carleton had incurred the royal disfavour, owing to some remarks which it was reported he had made unfavourable to the Hanoverian guards. The king in the first instance "scratched" Carleton's name ; but he was finally induced to waive his prejudice, on being told that, in order to make a general, employed on confidential service, fully responsible, and that he should have no ground for excuse in case of failure, his recommendation with regard to the subordinate appointments should be accepted.

Wolfe now became major-general, remaining subordinate to Amherst as commander-in-chief in America. It was an important matter, for his pay was but £2 a day, whereas as commander-in-chief it would have been £10, with £1,000 for extraordinary expenses. All Wolfe obtained in the latter head was £500. Lord Barrington, then secretary of war, however, assured him that any extraordinary expenses he was forced to incur would be repaid him.

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* At Bath Wolfe met Katherine, daughter of Mr. Robert Lowther, who had been governor of Barbadoes ; her uncle, sir James Lowther, became the first lord Lonsdale. Miss Lowther was an heiress. The courtship was not long, and they became engaged. It was not impossible, as has often occurred in military life, that it was the separation which Wolfe's command occasioned, requiring him to leave in the middle of February, which led to a sudden expression of feeling that in ordinary life might have taken months to elicit. When he sailed with his command Wolfe was the accepted suitor of Miss Lowther, and he carried her portrait to America. After Wolfe's death Miss Lowther became duchess of Bolton.

The brigadiers were Monckton, Townshend, and Murray. Robert Monckton, the senior officer of the three, was the second son of John, first viscount Galway: he was likewise a nephew of the second duke of Rutland: accordingly he held a high social position. Monckton had served some years in America; he had conducted the operations against fort Beauséjour and received its surrender from de Vergor. Subsequently he had been appointed colonel of the fourth battalion of the 60th, or Royal Americans. This regiment had constituted a portion of lord Loudoun's force in 1757. He was present at the siege of Louisbourg as colonel of the second battalion of the 60th. Monckton had thus had much experience, and possessed great ability: throughout the campaign he acted cordially with Wolfe. The second brigadier was George Townshend, afterwards the marquis of Townshend. He was a man of some capacity, but his talents took rather a social than a military turn. He had much local reputation, and being the eldest son of viscount Townshend, and heir to the title, he was not particularly patient of authority. His vanity was intense. He was a caricaturist,* and like many men with this gift, was perfectly callous how he exercised it, and careless of the feelings he wounded. He had been attached to the party of the duke of Cumberland, and had received favours from him. He had abandoned the cause of the duke to join that of the prince of Wales. Some of the subsequent caricatures attacking the duke were the production of Townshend, and his talents appeared more in this respect than any other. These were days when a title could do much for its possessor, and when Townshend offered his services to the war department, some of the letters written to him, in modern times would be held to be fulsome in the extreme of bad taste. Sir Richard Lyttleton wrote him, "that as a friend zealous for your glory, he had nothing more to do than to applaud with all mankind a resolution that you yourself have taken." The most extraordinary letter was that of Amherst, commander-in-chief, who told him, in acknowledging his letter, that "your kind assurances of friendship to me, of which I have so often had proofs, make me very happy, and I shall try to prove myself deserving of the continuance of it. . . . I won't flatter myself you will remain in this part of the world. I would be sorry you did any longer than you like." * He was of little help to Wolfe: a contrast to Monckton, who personally was a man of high honour, and a soldier in every sense of the word. Monckton's dangerous wound brought Townshend into prominence; otherwise his name would be scarcely mentioned in history. †

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* Ante, p. 96.

His own letters shew that at an early date he had lost all

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* New York, April 24th, 1729. Townshend MSS., p. 307.

† No better type can be given of Townshend's character than the letter to his wife, Lady Ferrars. It is dated from Point Lévis. In justice to Townshend's memory, I give it unabridged. Townshend papers, p. 308.

"My Dearest Charlotte, I hope M^{r}. Perceval will arrive safe & bring you these two letters from me. The Happiness of writing to you is beyond all I know. My Concern for your sufferings, my affection for you & your Dear little ones, convince me how unfit I am for this Sceene, which another Month will, thank God, give a Conclusion to. The Captive Women & Children which I see every Day brought in here, often tell me what I am & who belong to me, but above all the malencholly News I received the Day before yesterday, upon my arrival here from the cursed camp of Montmorenci, of my poor Brother's death, has reproved me for not consulting my own nature more, when I ask'd you to [let me] return to the Army. It had then pleaded for you, when you did not plead for yourself, & I had not been now in a Sceene of Ambition, Confusion & Misery, and you oppress'd, as I know you must be, with Terrours & affliction. I dare say poor Lady Tounshend too now starts at every knock at the Door. Let us look up with hopes, my Charlotte, to the Disposer of all things, & trust he will in his Mercy & Goodness do all for the best. I have wrote a line to poor Lady Tounshend, to comfort her by convincing her of my own Health & safety. One month more will put an End to our Troubles. I never served so disagreeable a Campaign as this. Our unequal Force has reduced our Operations to a Sceene of Skirmishing, Cruelty & Devastation. It is War of the worst Shape. A Sceene I ought not to be in; for the future, believe me, my dear Charlotte, I will seek the reverse of it.

"Gen^{l}. Wolf's Health is but very bad. His Generalship, in my poor opinion—is not a bit better; this only between us. He never consulted any of us till the latter end of August, so that we have nothing to answer for, I hope, as to the success of this Campaign, which from the Disposition the French have made of their force must chiefly fall to Gen^{l}. Amherst & Gen^{l}. Johnson.

"God bless you, my most Dear Wife, my blessing to my Children, my good George in particular, and thank him for his Letters. I have constantly thanked heart in the campaign. He looked forward to its closing, in a few days, in failure. In his view, all that remained for the army to do was to re-embark with the fleet and to return safely to England. Townshend was naturally a weak man; pampered by prosperity and flattery, his thoughts were centred in his comfort and ease. He forms the greatest contrast that can be furnished to Wolfe's patriotism, patience and courage. Walpole in his letters speaks of Townshend as thrusting himself into the service, and as far as "wrong-headedness will go, very proper for a hero."*

The third brigadier was James Murray, son of the fourth lord Elibank. He occupies a high place in Canadian history, having been the first governor general of Canada after the treaty of peace, for Amherst's position can scarcely be so described. He was present at the expedition against Rochefort, and served at the taking of Louisbourg. Wolfe had formed the highest opinion of his courage and conduct. He appears at one time to have fallen under the influence of Townshend. One of his letters shews unfriendliness to Wolfe. It is plain that something was said to the disadvantage of himself and Townshend. Whatever the character of this unfriendly criticism, no trace of it remains; it has passed from the page of history. Removed from Townshend's influence, the character of Murray returned to its original loyalty. There is a letter extant from Murray to Townshend †

God for the succes in the Innoculation, a most comfortable circumstance for you. Mr. Barker has been slightly wounded. Mr. Gay quite recover'd & join'd us. Our Campaign is just over. I shall come back in Adl. Saunders' ship, & in two months shall again belong to those I ought never to have left. Adieu. Your most affecte. Husband & faithfull friend,

"GEO. TOWNSHEND."

* Letters to Sir H. Mann, vol. III., p. 356.

† "I shall look for the letter you mention, take a copy of it and deposite the original with you. Since so black a lye was propogated, I think myself very happy that you will be on the spot to contradict whatever Ignorance or Faction may suggest.

"I have no copy of the paper I sent by you to Genll. Wolfe concerning his Scheme of landing between Point au Tremble and St. Augustin, but the publick orders are a sufficient proof of his intention to do it, and likewise of the sudden-which suggests some unpleasantness with Wolfe, the consequences of which they did not regard with satisfaction.

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ness of the thought of landing when we did. Indeed his orders throughout the campaign shows little stability, stratagem or fixt resolution. I wish his friends had not been so much our Enemys, his Memory would probably have been dearer to his Country than now it can be. We are acting on the defensive, you have the Execution of the plan, I am well perswaded you will manage it with as much tenderness to the memory of the poor Gen^{ll}. as the nature of things will admit of."

Murray to Townshend, 5th of October, 1759.

Townshend papers, p. 316.

CHAPTER VII.

The remarkable feature of Pitt's administration was the energy and despatch with which he carried out his purpose. No sooner was the determination formed to proceed against Quebec than measures were taken to organize the expedition, detach vessels for the service and appoint the naval officers for the chief positions.

The command of the fleet was given to admiral Saunders. During the whole period of the siege his conduct was so unexceptionable, as to establish his claim on the respect of posterity: nevertheless with that perverse indifference to merit so frequently manifested, when a great name has called forth a nation's homage, the escutcheon of Saunders has obtained little emblazonry from after-fame. Although of great prominence and distinction in his day, no dictionary of biography even records his name. The omission is the more striking that during his whole life he was actively engaged, on all occasions displaying pre-eminent ability, while the service rendered by him in the Saint Lawrence was only secondary to the masterly generalship of Wolfe. It is scarcely possible to find a better example of professional skill, devotion to duty, loyalty and hopeful co-operation in a common effort than in the assistance rendered by the navy in the operations of the siege, and yet modern biographical histories make no mention of the admiral who performed this service.

We learn from contemporary writers that he first attracted attention as the lieutenant of the celebrated "Centurion," of which lord Anson was in command, when he left England in 1740, in his expedition round the world. In February of the following year Saunders became commander of the "Tryal," sloop of war. In his passage round Cape Horn, Saunders, out of his crew of eighty, lost thirty-four seamen.

When at the island of San Juan Fernandez, he made a reconnaissance survey of the bays and inlets. Some Spanish prisoners who were brought there expressed their surprise, that in so short a time the British had built a brig, for they could not suppose it possible, that so small a vessel could navigate the stormy waters round cape Horn, when so many of the large ships of Spain were obliged to turn back. He accompanied Anson as far as Macao, in China, whence in November, 1742, he was sent with despatches to England. His presence in this position established his reputation, and was the precursor of the good fortune and distinction which he attained. In 1745 he was in command of the "Sandwich" 90. Subsequently, on being transferred to the "Yarmouth" 64, he took a leading part in the victory of Hawke of the 14th of October, 1742. In 1750 he became member for Portsmouth. In 1752, in command of the "Penzance," he proceeded to Newfoundland to protect the fisheries. Two years later he became treasurer of Greenwich hospital. In May of that year, on the election of the new parliament, through the interest of Lord Anson, he was returned for Heydon, in Yorkshire, which he represented in every change of parliament until his death. At the breaking out of the war he had been appointed to the fleet of admiral Hawke. Subsequently he was selected by Pitt to the command of the fleet in Wolfe's expedition.*

On the 8th of January Saunders received his appointment. Two days later he was instructed to send admiral Durell, one of the junior admirals, to Halifax with not less than four ships of the line. In a few days he was told that the departure of these vessels was not to be delayed in the "Downs" by the separation of the stores and arms deliverable at Halifax, but that the ships should sail to New York, and that, at that port, as the list directed, the stores and arms should be given over to Amherst. The transports, fifty-nine in number, with ordnance ships, were immediately to sail convoyed by four sail of the line and as many frigates. The spirit in which Saunders entered upon his duty can be conceived, when we read that he recommended sending Folkeston cutters "to examine creeks and bays in the Saint Lawrence."

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* It is gratifying to be able to state that Saunders, during his life, was the recipient of full honour from the crown. On his return from Quebec, he was appointed lieutenant-general of marines, and on taking his seat in the house of commons, he received the thanks of the speaker. He was again appointed in command of the Mediterranean fleet. In 1762, sir Charles Saunders became knight of the bath. For a short period in 1766, he acted as first lord of the admiralty. He finally rose, in 1770, to the highest rank, as admiral of the fleet. He died the 7th of December, 1775, of gout in the stomach, leaving a large fortune. Among his heirs were admiral Keppel, who was with him in the "Centurion," and sir Hugh Palliser. The bulk of his property went to his niece. He was buried in Westminster abbey privately, near the monument of Wolfe.

Saunders was at Portsmouth until the 3rd of February. On the 16th he wrote from Plymouth sound, under sail. All the ships were together, with seven victuallers and four months' provisions for five thousand men. The fleet, seventy sail in all, weighed anchor on the 14th, and kept well together until the 24th; early on the 25th a storm, which lasted for two days, separated the vessels, so that on the 2nd of March they could number only forty-three. On the 10th Saunders wrote to Pitt that Durell had been ordered to the Saint Lawrence to watch the mouth of the river; he also forwarded a copy of a letter to de Lancey, then governor of New York, in which he pledged himself that men on the ships bringing provisions to the fleet should not be pressed. Seamen were, however, required, and Saunders called upon the governor to obtain men by all legal means; especially pilots for the Saint Lawrence.

Although it was the end of April when the fleet arrived at Louisbourg, owing to the ice the ships were unable to enter the harbour, so they sailed to Halifax, where they anchored on the 30th of the month. Durell was preparing to start, and he left Halifax on the 5th of May. Saunders sailed on the 13th. The first transports with troops arrived under convoy at Louisbourg on the 17th of May. Even at that date there was an unusual amount of ice in the harbour. Indeed, the severity of the winter had greatly retarded the expedition. Cruisers were immediately despatched; the "Lizard" to move between the northwest of Anticosti and the southern shore; the "Nightingale" between North cape, cape Ray and the Bird islands.

The letter of Saunders had the effect of obtaining some additional strength to the navy. Two hundred and forty seamen joined the fleet from Boston. Some of the victuallers returning home, the opportunity was taken of sending to France some French prisoners and several of the inhabitants who had remained at Louisbourg. When Saunders reached Louisbourg fifteen transports had not appeared.

The object in ordering admiral Durell to the Saint Lawrence was to prevent the construction of fortifications at île aux Coudres,* by means of which the ascent of the Saint Lawrence might be made more difficult through the waters west of it known as the "*traverse*." This island is opposite Saint Paul's bay, about thirty-six miles east of the island of Orleans; the île aux Grues intervenes in the middle of this distance, and is succeeded by a series of smaller islets. Accordingly, the channel is directed across the river towards the south of the island of Orleans, and, although wide and deep, is in many spots intricate, and a knowledge of these difficulties is indispensable to its safe navigation.

The opinion had been formed that this part of the river might be fortified by the French, and that resistance at this point might be experienced. Durell's expedition had been sent to prevent any such attempt, and it was accompanied by a land force under the command of Carleton, the quartermaster-general. Durell arrived at the île aux Coudres on the 6th of

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* Île aux Coudres was so named by Cartier in his second voyage, 6th June, 1535. [Voyages, Que. Hist. Doc., p. 27.] It attracted the attention of Champlain in his first voyage of 1603. He speaks of the island as if it were well known: "*qui s'appelle île aux Coudres*" [p. 87, Laval Champlain], suggesting that some mariners were with him, who had previously ascended the St. Lawrence. It is not possible to suppose that it could have been identified from its mention in Cartier's narrative of seventy years previously. So far as our knowledge goes, Canada had been abandoned during the whole of that period, but the language of Champlain suggests the continuation of such voyages. Champlain again described the island in his voyage of 1608. The name of the island is attributable to the profusion of hazel nuts originally found there.

June.* The fact was immediately made known at Point Lévis by the lighted beacons. The first report magnified the force, but the true strength was soon known: ten British ships of war convoying the transports.

Durell landed some of his force on the island, and securely established himself there. The consequence was that it was abandoned by the inhabitants, who passed over to the north shore. Their property was in no way injured, but the houses were taken possession of by the troops.

It was soon noticed that the new occupiers wandered carelessly about the island, and some of the inhabitants of the bay of Saint Paul saw that the opportunity was offered of taking some prisoners. A few of them landed unobserved, and, placing themselves in ambush, surprised three young officers who were riding about the island, among them the grandson of Durell. They were mounted, and were proceeding to place the British flag on a height. Their horses were shot, and they were made prisoners and carried to Quebec. They were interrogated, and the information given by them did not tend to quiet the public feeling. They informed them that there would be twenty-five vessels of the line, twelve frigates and two hundred transports, and that the army would amount to twenty thousand men, and had little doubt of its ultimate success. After having been kept some days at Quebec and kindly treated, they were sent to Three Rivers.

The effect of this news was to cause great vigilance on the island of Orleans, whence the women and children were sent to the woods with the cattle. De Léry was selected to carry out the duty. Durell was too late to prevent the arrival of the spring fleet, and eighteen vessels, with recruits and provisions, convoyed by two frigates, reached Quebec. It was in one of these ships de Bougainville arrived. Durell was, however, fortunate enough to take two victualler ships, which contained some stores and supplies, which proved of much use. An attempt was made with two barges to land in the bay of Saint Paul. But the small force was so vigorously opposed by the armed inhabitants, that the effort was discontinued.

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* De Vaudreuil's intercepted letter, 7th of June, Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 88, p. 131.

Durell lost no time in buoying out the channel of the *traverse*, and attempting its passage. On the 26th of June some of his ships were seen from the city,* and their appearance hastened the establishment of the camp at Beauport. As there was no attempt to ascend the river, and the seamen were busied with its survey, the truth began to dawn upon the defenders of Quebec, that Durell's squadron was only the forerunner of a larger and more powerful force.

De Courtemanche, with six hundred men and some Indians, was placed on the island of Orleans to observe the boats engaged in sounding, to intercept them or destroy them, as might be practicable. It is astonishing that in every operation the Canadian mind clung to the theory of *la petite guerre*, and never could be induced to abandon it. The results which it obtained had no influence on the contest, beyond the unfortunate consequence of greatly embittering all who suffered from it. It never had any effect beyond the destruction of those who were surprised, killed and scalped. It was regarded with detestation by every able French officer present with the troops; nevertheless, it was persevered in until the final surrender at Montreal. De Courtemanche could in no way hope to impede Durell's operations; he might kill a few of the seamen. Watching his opportunity, he succeeded in surprising a boat containing eight men, which had become separated from the rest, and in carrying them away prisoners.

A more legitimate attempt was made to destroy Durell's squadron, but the means taken failed entirely to effect what had been anticipated. Le Mercier, with some artillery, established himself at the eastern point of the island, and discharged red-hot shot at the ships. The guns were of insufficient calibre, or possibly Durell was careful to keep out of their range. His own fire was equally ineffective. So far as he was able, Durell continued his examination of the channel. On his arrival he had seized some vessels, out of which he had taken the pilots, and they were forced to assist in pointing out the channel under the threat of being hanged. Beyond the petty operations I have detailed, there was no attempt to interfere with Durell.

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* Journal de Lévis, p. 180.

When Wolfe's force was organized in England, it had been determined, that it should be increased, by a strong contingent of the regiments in garrison in Nova Scotia. On examining the condition of the troops obtainable in the province, Wolfe found that the number was less than he looked for. When the regiments detailed for the defence of the province, five hundred in number, had been deducted, two thousand could only be added to the strength of the expedition. Wolfe stated the case clearly to his uncle.*

In England his army was called 12,000 men, it did not reach 9,000. The total number of Wolfe's force on leaving Louisbourg was 8,535.† There were some marines, if the admiral

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* 19th of May, 1759.

† Embarkation return. Expedition general Wolfe. Louisbourg, June, 1759.

Regulars.

Regimental Number.	Battalion.	Name.	Officers.	Non-commissioned Officers.	Rank and File.	Total.
15th		Amherst's	34	36	524	594
28th		Bragg's	26	27	538	591
35th		Otway's	36	40	823	899
43rd		Kennedy's	29	30	656	715
47th		Lascelles'	36	40	603	679
48th		Wolf's	36	39	777	852
58th		Anstruther's	27	28	561	616
60th	2	Monckton's	27	34	520	581
	3	Lawrence's	29	34	544	607
78th		Simon Fraser	50	51	1168	1269
3 Companies Louisbourg Grenadiers,		Murray	13	13	300	326
Rangers,		Capt. Gorham	7	5	83	95
		“ Stark	3	4	88	95
		“ Brewer	3	4	78	85
		“ Hazzans	3	4	82	89
		“ Rogers	4	4	104	112
Royal Artillery,		Wilkinson	21	18	291	330
			384	411	7740	8535

could spare them. For his engineering assistance he relied on Carleton. The remaining acting engineers were indifferent, and of little experience. The army Wolfe looked upon as too small for the undertaking, but it was well composed, the men having been brought under fire at the siege of Louisbourg.

There is a passage in this letter to be read with the greater interest when Wolfe's death is considered. As the general in command, he had clearly no business to be where he was, when he fell at the head of the bayonet charge of the Louisbourg grenadiers, and it could only have been the desperate circumstances in which he was placed, that caused him to lead the attack.*

A correspondence between Wolfe and Whitmore, which took place at Louisbourg, may be accepted as typical of the sentiment of many officers towards Wolfe. In certain quarters there was great jealousy of his success, and envy added to this ill feeling. On May the 1st he had written to Amherst asking to be reinforced, giving him the extraordinary information that he was totally unprovided with funds. The condition of the force in this respect will be seen, that when the fleet, after the conquest, was leaving Quebec, owing to the want of money the officers of the army and navy were appealed to by Murray, to advance to the government, as a loan, all that they could spare from their private means. Wolfe asked, that instructions should be given to Whitmore to transfer to his command the company of light infantry, for that any serious loss would reduce the expedition to a division.† Amherst promised to furnish three hundred pioneers from the Boston militia; they, however, arrived too late to embark with Wolfe. With regard to the light infantry, Amherst stated that he had received no instructions, but he was convinced brigadier general Whitmore's zeal in the service would induce him to grant them.

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* "You may be assured that I shall take all proper care of my own person, unless in the case of the last importance, where it becomes a duty to do otherwise. I never put myself unnecessarily into the way of danger. Young troops must be encouraged at first. What appears hazardous sometimes is really not so, to people who know the country" [? contrary.] Wright, p. 499.

† Wright publishes this word as 'diversion.' The letter is in Can. Arch., A. &. W. I., 90, p. 233.

Wolfe consequently earnestly addressed Whitmore, asking him for the company of light infantry omitted in the orders sent from England. He had been disappointed in the regiment expected from the West Indies. Several regiments were weaker, than in England they were thought to be, and he pointed out that it was good troops only which can make amends for want of numbers. He continued: "It is therefore my duty to signify to you that it would be much for the public service to let the other two companies of light infantry embark with the army under my command, upon condition of being replaced, man for man, by some of the rangers and some of Frazer's additional companies, who are not so proper for the field, though very efficient for the defence of a fortified place. If there was any reason to apprehend that this change might have the least ill consequence, I should not venture to propose it. Mr. Lawrence, who has a very bad fortress and a very weak garrison, accepted of the sick and recovering men of the two American battalions as part of the 500 regulars intended for the defence of Nova Scotia, knowing very well that upon the success of our attacks in Canada, the security of the whole continent of America in a great measure depends."

To this appeal, setting forth the emergency with manliness and dignity, and only in view of the public service, which it was the duty of Whitmore to safeguard, as it was that of Wolfe, Whitmore returned the coldest and most official denial. The letter was forwarded by Wolfe to England.*

Whitmore had previously received instructions from England to use the utmost diligence in executing the orders he should

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* If brigadier Whitmore is to be remembered, it is proper that this answer should be preserved. His answer is, therefore, given entire.

"Louisbourg, 19th May, 1759.

"Sir, I have the Honor of yours of this date wherein you acquaint me that in the Distribution of the Forces for the Invasion of Canada, it was regulated that Bragg's Regiment, three companies of Granadiers and one Company of Light Infantry besides the rangers should be taken from Louisbourg. By His Majesty's Instructions to me, I am to obey the orders I shall receive from Major General Amherst or the commander-in-chief of His Majesty's Forces in No. America.

"I have not as yet received any orders from Major General Amherst to detach receive from the commander-in-chief. By his instructions of January the 18th, 1759, the words had been added "or other his superior officers." They were not included in the subsequent letter. In spite of what passed, Whitmore wrote to Pitt with reference to the Quebec expedition, remarking "that the inferior force of the enemy renders it extremely improbable that any inconvenience can arise by the exchange of regulars for provincials;" himself furnishing the condemnation of his conduct.

It has been said that Amherst wrote to Wolfe that he would send him three hundred Boston pioneers, and, accordingly, he appealed to Thomas Hutchinson, the lieut.-governor of Massachusetts to obtain them. Hutchinson greatly exerted himself in despatching them and wrote to Wolfe advising him to borrow the troops from the provincials of the Louisbourg garrison, to be replaced by the Boston pioneers. Wolfe accordingly applied for them. Whitmore again shewed his bad spirit; instead of making a selection and ordering the men to join Wolfe's corps he contented himself with asking for volunteers. As none offered to go he would give no orders and none went.

On the 1st of June the fleet sailed out of Louisbourg harbour. The soldiers were in excellent spirits and they cheered with all their hearts as the bands played what may be called the national air as troops are sailing from home, "The girl I left behind me." Knox, who was a captain of Kennedy's, the 43rd, tells us that at every mess table that night, of every rank, the toast drunk was, "British colours on every French fort, post and garrison in America."*

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a Company of Light Infantry from this Garrison. Bragg's Regiment, three Companies of Granadiers and all the Rangers are ordered to embark when you see fit.

"Ed. Whitmore.

"Major Gen^{l}. Wolfe."

Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 88, p. 78. Whitmore's letter is not given by Wright.

Whitmore was drowned in a voyage from Louisbourg to Boston, in January, 1762. The ship, by stress of weather, put into Plymouth. Whitmore is represented as accidentally falling overboard.

* The name of captain R. N. Knox will frequently appear as an authority during

Previous to sailing Wolfe wrote at length to Pitt. He related the rebuff he had received from Whitmore, and he had the generosity to say that it had proceeded from a scrupulous obedience to orders. He explained the reason of his application, that he found the four new companies of rangers so bad that he expected no service from them unless mixed with the light infantry. Several transports had not arrived, but he had taken flour from Louisbourg. He had applied for money to Amherst, "but he could send me none. This is one of the first sieges perhaps that ever was undertaken without it."

There were one thousand of the Boston militia at Louisbourg. It was from this body he asked for one hundred pioneers. After the fleet had left he heard that three hundred Massachusetts men were preparing to embark.*

The fleet under Saunders' command came in sight of the coast of Newfoundland on the 29th of June. The snow still lay upon the hills. Sailing between Newfoundland and the north headland of Cape Breton, the ships passed the Bird islands on the 9th, and on the 12th they reached the inhospitable island of Anticosti, which for the centuries it has been known is avoided by all but the lighthouse-keeper, the sportsman, and the occasional fisherman, remaining to this hour in its isolation. The fleet had now reached the waters within a few miles of the scene, forty-five years previously, of the

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Wolfe's campaign. He belonged to Kennedy's, the 43rd, and was born in Edinburgh; finally he established himself at Dalkeith, where he died in 1790. In 1769 he published two quarto volumes, the "Historical journals of the Campaigns in North America, for the years 1757, 58, 59 and 1760, etc."

* Hutchinson, in his history of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, describes these 300 men as "sent to Quebec." They do not appear to have gone further than Louisbourg. The corps is not shewn on the several states, especially that on the 12th of October, when the full force is given, amounting in all to 8,817, in which the only provincial regiments named are 5 companies of rangers. None of the rangers were present before Quebec on the morning of the 13th of September. Of the 6,500 men raised by Massachusetts, 2,800 were in Louisbourg and Nova Scotia, the remainder served with Amherst. Wolfe spoke highly of Hutchinson's zeal for the public service and very great knowledge of the affairs of his province. His history of Massachusetts is one of the most valuable works we possess of the annals of the American continent.

dreary failure of sir Hovenden Walker and "Jack" Hill, who commanded the land troops. There was the same difficulty for the British fleet in ascending the river, but admiral Saunders had not been selected as the brother of the man midwife who, in interesting circumstances, had attended the queen's female favourite. On the 18th the ships arrived at Bic, where the "Richmond," with Wolfe on board, had previously anchored. By the 20th the fleet was at the mouth of the Saguenay. A storm threatened for a time many of the transports, the anchors of which were dragged, but the wind changed, and the fleet arrived on the 23rd at île aux Coudres. Here they met admiral Durell, whose arrival has been recorded.

As the ships advanced, the signal fires were seen from height to height, announcing at Quebec that the main English fleet was in the Saint Lawrence. At that date Canada was settled as far as Rimouski on the south shore. On the north shore settlement reached Malbaie, some sixty miles below the island of Orleans. The population, however, was scattered, and not numerous.* As little faith could be given to the pilots who had been pressed to perform their duty ; sounding boats were sent in advance of the fleet, and the navigation was undertaken by the seamanship of the several captains.* The channel was laid off by different coloured flags, and the ascent was successfully accomplished. On the 25th of June the vessels reached the east of the island of Orleans, and advanced to the village of Saint Laurent. On the afternoon of the 26th, Wolfe from the " Richmond," gave orders for the landing to be made on the following morning. At midnight he sent lieutenant Meech, of the rangers, with forty men, to feel what was before them. They came upon a party of Canadians, who were burying their property. Meech, believing himself to be surrounded, ordered his men to fire, when the Canadians retired. Meech made no attempt to pursue, but took possession of a house, and at daylight sent in search of one of his men, who was missing. He was found dead, and scalped. The rangers followed the trace of the Canadians to the north of the island, where it was seen that they had embarked for the north shore.

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* On the north shore settlement extended to the île aux Coudres, being somewhat continued to Malbaie, Les Eboulements and the bay of Saint Paul. In 1739, the total population of these last-named parishes is given as 445. [Census 70-71, vol. IV., p. 60.] In 1765, two years after the conquest, the following parishes are named : Île aux Coudres, Eboulements, Baie St. Paul, Petite Rivière, St. Joachim, St. Féréol, Ste. Anne du Nord, Château Richer, L'Ange Gardien, Beauport and Charlesbourg, with 901 familes and 4,946 of population. On the south shore, below the island of Orleans, there were the parishes of St. Thomas, Montmagny, île aux Grues, L'Islet, Port Joli, Ste. Anne de la Pocatière, St. Denis, Kamouraska, Rivière du Loup, Ile Verte, Trois Pistoles and Rimouski. By the census of 1765, settlements in addition are named at St. Valier, Berthier, St. François du Sud, Cap St. Ignace, St. Roch and Rivière Ouelle. In 1739 the population of the island of Orleans was 2,318, and from the island of Orleans to Rimouski was 3,323. In 1765 the population of the island of Orleans was 2,303. No parishes are named after Rivière du Loup suggesting that the settlements east of that place had been abandoned. Including Rivière du Loup on the north shore from St. Vallier, there were at that date 1,425 families and 7,890 of population. [Ib., pp. 64-65.]

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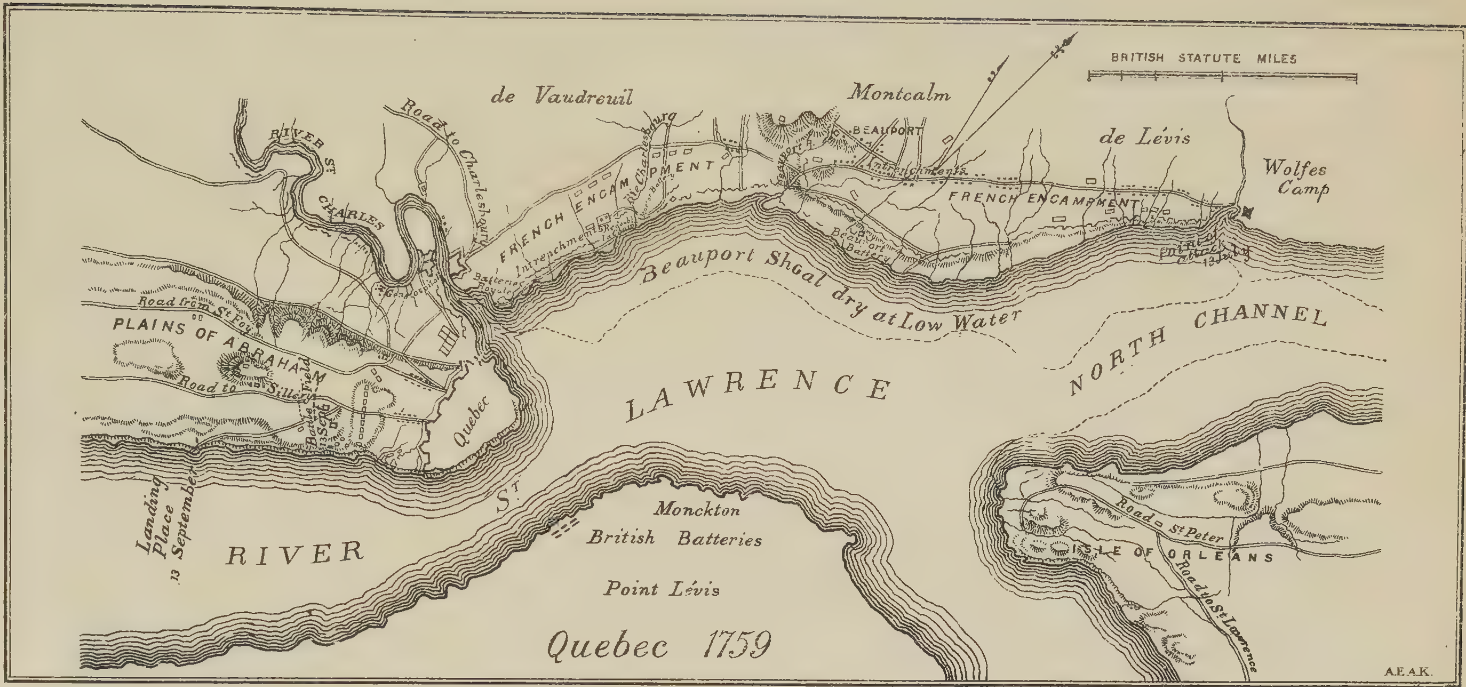
* As the fleet was ascending to Quebec Knox was in the " Goodwill " transport, the master of which was an old sailor named Killick. The pilot, who had been one of the men taken prisoner, was ordered to carry the vessel through under penalty of death ; he was very angry and showed so much ill-will that the sailors would have thrown him overboard, except from admiral Saunders' order that no prisoner should suffer ill-treatment. Knox understood French : had the pilot known the fact he might have been more guarded. " Some of your ships," said he, "may return to England, but they will have a dismal tale to carry, for Canada will be the grave of the whole army, and I hope ere long to see the walls of Quebec decorated with English scalps." Killick rightly gauged the situation or possibly understood the man. The story cannot be better told than in Knox's own words : " He would not let the pilot speak, but fixed his mate at the helm, charged him not to take orders from any person but himself, and going forward with his trumpet to the forecastle, gave the necessary instructions. All that could be said by the commanding officer and the other gentlemen on board was to no purpose ; the pilot declared we should be lost, for that no French ships ever presumed to pass there without a pilot. " Ay, ay, my dear," replied our son of Neptune, " but, damn me, I'll convince you that an Englishman shall go where a Frenchman dare not show his nose." The " Richmond " frigate being close astern of us, the commanding officer called out to the captain and told him our case ; he enquired who the master was, and was answered from the forecastle by the man himself, who told him " he was old Killick, and that was enough ! " I went forward with this experienced mariner, who pointed out the channel to me as we passed, shewing me by the ripple and colour of the water where there was any danger, and distinguishing the places where there were ledges of rock (to me invisible) from banks of sand, mud or gravel. He gave his orders with great unconcern, joked with the sounding-boats which lay off on each side with different coloured flags for our guidance, and when any of them called to him and pointed to the deepest water, he answered : " Ay, ay, my dear, chalk it down, a damned dangerous navigation, eh ? If you don't make a splutter about it, you'll get no credit in England." After we had cleared this remarkable place, where the channel forms a complete zigzag, the master called to his mate to give the helm to somebody else, saying, " Damn me if there are not a thousand places in the Thames fifty times more hazardous than this ; I am ashamed that Englishmen make such a rout about it." The Frenchman asked me if the captain had not been there before. I assured him in the negative, upon which he viewed him with great attention, lifting at the same time his hands and eyes to heaven with astonishment and fervency."

This passage has been already published, and is well known, but it is too remarkable to be omitted.

The troops landed, and parties marched over the island to find it deserted. On the church door was a letter from the *curé* to the worthy officers of the British army, "asking their protection for the church and his dwelling, regretting that they had not arrived earlier, so they could have enjoyed the asparagus and the vegetables in his garden." The ornaments and the plate of the church, together with all that could be removed, had been taken away.

The island of Orleans is twenty miles in length and six miles at its greatest breadth ; the main channel runs to the south of it ; at its western point the harbour of Quebec commences. From this spot Wolfe first looked upon the fortress he was present to attack. The Beauport shoals lay to the north of the seven miles of water between him and Quebec ; to the south, Point Lévis projects to approach Quebec on its western side within a mile and a half ; to the east of Point Lévis the channel is two and a half miles wide, the chord of the projecting point being four miles from east to west. The French intrenchments extended along the north shore to the falls of Montmorency ; the left of the line being protected by the rapid current of the stream descending to the falls, making its passage impracticable. The right of the line rested upon the river Saint Charles, bridged to admit of access to Quebec. Before him stood the fortress with the flag of France waving in the sunlight. On the same morning there was a violent storm ; fortunately, the troops were dis-


BRITISH STATUTE MILES
de Vaudreuil
Montcalm
de Lévis
Wolfes Camp
Road to Charlesbourg
RIVER ST CHARLES
FRENCH ENCAMPMENT
Rie Charlesbourg
BEAUPORT
Beauport R.
Intrenchments
FRENCH ENCAMPMENT
Intrenchments
Redoubt
La Canardière
Batteries Royales
Gen. Hospital
Beauport Battery
Point of attack 13 July
Beauport Shoal dry at Low Water
NORTH CHANNEL
Road from St Foy
PLAINS OF ABRAHAM
Road to Sillery
Battle Field 13 Sept
Quebec
ST LAWRENCE
RIVER
Landing Place 13 September
Monckton
British Batteries
Point Lévis
Road St Peter
ISLE OF ORLEANS
Road to St Lawrence
Quebec 1759
A.E.A.K.

embarked. Some of the transports were driven from their moorings and were cast ashore; others suffered injury by being dashed together. No permanent damage, however, was caused, and no life was lost. The storm was of short duration, and during the following day, the 28th, the water was perfectly calm, and the troops quietly established themselves in their quarters. During the night of that day the fire-ships were sent down from Quebec. They failed most egregiously in their purpose: they had been prepared in anticipation of the arrival of the British fleet, and much had been hoped from them. They were seven in number: three consisted of large merchant vessels; the remainder were schooners and *bateaux*, and had been constructed under one Oclouches, the master of a merchantman. It had been determined that the fire-ships should be directed against the three frigates which were in advance, and that the remainder should be sent against the sixty transports lying at Saint Patrick's cove, in the island of Orleans. Oclouches set fire to his ship after passing Point Lévis. The frigates sent out boats to meet the danger, and the vessel was safely towed to Beaumont, seven miles below Point Lévis. Of the six others, three only made their way to the island. One exploded when the match was lighted; two burst into flames before leaving Quebec. The shouts of the English sailors, on the failure of the attempt, reached Quebec to add to the discomfiture which succeeded the vain hope of success.

The appearance of these fire-ships so struck with terror the guard at the western point of the island that the men ran from their posts and spread alarm in the ranks. They were sternly rebuked by Wolfe in his general orders and the officer placed under arrest; he was, however, subsequently released at Monckton's intercession.

The storm which had been experienced suggested to the admiral the insecurity of his moorings; he determined, accordingly, to anchor his ships in the basin of Quebec. Previous to so acting, Saunders brought to Wolfe's notice the necessity of taking possession of Point Lévis. On the night of the

29th, Monckton, with his command, crossed over to Beaumont on the southern shore. The 15th, 43rd and 78th, with some rangers, constituted the force. They lay on their arms until morning. The outposts were attacked by some of the militia ; the skirmish, however, was unimportant. Three of the French were killed and were scalped by the rangers in retaliation ; three were taken prisoners. The British loss was one mortally, two slightly wounded. Monckton attached to the church door the proclamation issued by Wolfe. It set forth that the object of the invasion was the conquest of the country. He offered his protection to the *habitants* provided they took no active part in the contest : should they refuse these terms then the law of nations would justify their experiencing the fate of war.

On the morning of the 30th of June, Monckton's force advanced towards Point Lévis : after having proceeded about four miles, they were fired on from the woods. A halt was made and the march was then continued through the open fields, until Point Lévis was reached and the church taken possession of. Montcalm had advised that this position should be held and fortified. The influence of de Vaudreuil, however, prevailed with the council, to reject the proposition on the ground that although some injury might be done to the lower town, artillery from the point could not harm the city. On the 1st of July some floating batteries were sent from the city to attack the British force. They were quickly silenced by a frigate, sent by the admiral to drive them off. A battery *en barbette* was established without delay, and the safety of the fleet was more thoroughly assured, by the same precaution being taken at the western front of the island of Orleans.

The attack of the floating batteries had not been without effect ; of the British force four were killed and seventeen wounded, many mortally, but it in no way interfered with the permanent establishment of the detachment. A fort was constructed on the island of Orleans for provisions and stores. Several old men, women, and children had been brought in prisoners from the south shore. Wolfe gave them their liberty, and sent them to Quebec with a flag of truce. Information was also sent that the ladies were on board, whom Durell had brought from Miramichi. Opportunity was taken to inquire concerning the three young officers surprised at île aux Coudres. De Vaudreuil replied that he had treated the prisoners with distinction, and when he heard that Wolfe was about to depart he would send them back to him.

There were now 300 Ottawas and 400 Iroquois and Abenakis with the French. Many had arrived early in the siege, and their presence in attacking and scalping any stragglers was soon felt. In any considered plan of operations they were of little account.

The French lines closed with the falls of Montmorency. Wolfe, perceiving that the ground to the eastward was higher* than that held by the French, considered that it offered a favourable point for attack. There was also a ford below the falls, which for some period between the ebb and flow was passable. Wolfe hoped that there might be a fordable place in the river above the falls by which he might pass his troops. In modern times this ford is well known, and some writers have imagined that it was from ignorance that Wolfe did not avail himself of it. Wolfe was well aware of its existence. "In reconnoitring the river Montmorency," he says, "we found it fordable† at a place about three miles up, but the opposite bank was intrenched, and so steep and woody, that it was to no purpose to attempt passage there." Wolfe doubtless recollected the defeat of Braddock, and the repulse of Abercrombie from the impenetrable *abatis*, and he was not one to risk his force in so unequal a contest. It was the spot by which the Indians passed to attack the British lines; during the two months' occupation of the north shore, forty officers and men were killed and wounded in the encounters with them.

On the evening of Sunday, the 8th of July, the three regiments at Point Lévis, the 15th, 43rd and 63rd were ordered to strike their tents at one in the morning, and admiral Holmes, with some vessels of his squadron, came to anchor on the west side of Montmorency and bombarded the French camp. Before daylight the troops at Point Lévis marched behind a little hill, out of sight of Quebec, where they lay on their arms until evening. Whatever was the object of the movement they returned to Point Lévis. Doubtless they were held in reserve to support Townshend's brigade, which had been detailed to take possession of the ground east of Montmorency. On the 7th, the 28th, the 47th and 60th were served out with three days' provisions, with orders to march on the 8th. Owing to the ships not being able to take up their position the embarkation was delayed. It took place, however, at five o'clock of that evening.

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* De Lévis' expression is "séduit par la hauteur."

† Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 88, p. 83.

On the force being landed the Louisbourg grenadiers were ordered out to obtain fascines, and the rangers were sent to guard the skirts of the wood. They were surprised and surrounded by a large force of Indians, who killed thirteen, wounded the captain, lieutenant and nine men. The French force likewise killed and wounded seventeen of the 22nd, 40th and 60th. The British could only take three prisoners and two of the Indians. The latter immediately retreated when confronted with the larger reinforcement which came upon the scene. Wolfe was greatly chagrined at the affair. In relating the result he described the company of rangers as almost disabled for the rest of the campaign.

Deserters were now and then leaving the British camp and carrying extraordinary stories to the French. One of these stated, that there were eight hundred of the troops at Point Lévis, among whom was the Royal American regiment, who had declared that they would neither work nor fight, for they had not been paid for thirteen months, and that they had only been brought to Canada to establish themselves. Another reported, that a landing would at once be made at Saint Joachim of fifteen hundred men, who would join the force at Montmorency. The French themselves saw the ridiculous impossibility of many of their stories.* One deserter told them that Louisbourg had been retaken by the French. Another that the king of Prussia had lost twenty thousand men in a battle; that Maria Theresa was in the repossession of Silesia, and that the electorate of Hanover was in the hands of the French. What the French did accept as serious was, that the admiral had given Wolfe until the end of the month, to make his last effort to obtain possession of the place.*

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* "Qui suivant leur ordinaire pour être bien reçu nous faisoient des contes à rire." Panet's Journal.

Among those who had been dispossessed of his property at Beaumont was one M. Charest, and he continually asked for a force to be sent, to drive the British from Point Lévis. He was informed that he could undertake the operation if he saw fit. He went over accordingly with a few men, and an unimportant skirmish took place. His success, mentioned in the British journals of the time as the discovery near the camp, of the bodies of some stragglers which had been scalped, was represented by him at Quebec to be of the highest importance. The council determined that an expedition of fifteen hundred men should be organized against Point Lévis. It was deferred, owing to a prisoner being brought in by some Abenakis, who gave the information that an expedition was designed against the country around Beauport. On the 4th, Charest, who was sent as a scout to reconnoitre Point Lévis, returned with the information that there were not eight hundred men there, and he recommended they should be attacked. It was seen in the city, that the batteries were being constructed, and fears were felt of their destructive effect. Charest again visited Point Lévis. There were, he said, eight hundred workmen, and a covering party of five hundred. On the 10th the new batteries which had been established at Quebec were opened against Point Lévis, but they had no effect. As their uselessness was evident, and the consequence of the bombardment from Point Lévis was greatly dreaded, it was resolved that a powerful organization should be made, in order to drive the British from that position. On the 11th the assembly took place.

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* "Je crois que c'est sur cette déposition que nous pouvions le plus compter." Panet's Journal, p. 13.

Five hundred Canadians came in from Beauport, with one hundred colonial troops and sixty volunteers from the regiments, under Dumas. On the 12th, as the enthusiasm rose to a higher pitch, the numbers were increased by three hundred and fifty of the city militia and inhabitants. They were assembled and marched to Sillery, where they remained during the day. Embarking in their boats at nine o'clock, they arrived without accident on the southern shore. The advance guard had commenced to move forward to the assault, when recklessly, without orders, shots were fired by some students of the seminary who had joined the expedition, under the belief that they had fallen into an ambush of the enemy. Six hundred turned and fled. Shortly afterwards some soldiers of the Royal Rousillon gave the alarm that the British cavalry was coming up, when another desertion took place. About three hundred men approached the intrenchment, and "went back again." It is Wolfe's expression after having previously stated that they fell into confusion, "by which," he adds, "we lost an opportunity of defeating this large detachment." *

The bombardment of the city commenced on the night of the 12th of July; from that date to the 18th of September it was maintained. In this period many churches and convents and two hundred and fifty of the best houses were reduced to ashes, and the greater part of the city shattered and cast in ruins.

On the 18th of July two men-of-war, two armed sloops and some transports passed above the city. The "Diana" was not so fortunate: she ran ashore and was so much injured that she was sent to Boston for repair. The presence of these vessels suggested to the French that an attempt would be made at some spot to the west. A force was organized under Dumas of six hundred men and two pieces of cannon, whose duty it was to follow the passage of these vessels up and down the tide. Wolfe's object was to reconnoitre the country above the city. He found the same difficulties before

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* Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., 88, p. 82.

him as he had experienced at Beauport; he feared if he attacked between the city and cap Rouge, that the detachment first landed could not be reinforced, before the whole French force was turned against it. He relates that he had thought of making the attack at Saint Michel, three miles above the town, but he was deterred from the attempt from the great danger attending it, and for the time the project was laid aside as too hazardous.

Wolfe imagined that the enemy had penetrated his design, and it became one of his objects in this movement to divide the French force. On the 21st an expedition started for Point aux Trembles, above Quebec, under the command of Carleton. It consisted of the 15th, 48th and 63rd regiments; the design was to capture some prisoners and to discover papers of importance. The party was fired upon by a few Indians, who were, however, soon dispersed, and a landing was effected. They brought away sixty prisoners, principally women. Dumas endeavoured to intercept the assailants, but he was too late.*

On the same day a frigate came sufficiently near to examine the one remaining fire-ship; it appeared undefended, so some boats were sent out, and the sailors set it on fire. There yet remained the fire-rafts; they were, however, incomplete, and not charged with combustibles. The French at this date received some reinforcements, by the arrival of de Boishébert with 300 Acadians and Indians.

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* The French believed that the expedition had been suggested by Stobo. It will be remembered that he was one of the hostages given by Washington, on his surrender at fort Necessity, 1754, and that among Braddock's baggage the plan of fort Duquesne, drawn by him, was found. He was arrested and sentenced to be hanged. The court ordered the suspension of his sentence, and Stobo was temporarily set at liberty. When in this position, he took the opportunity of escaping. Whitmore mentions his arrival at Louisbourg during June. [Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 80, p. 30]. He escaped with lieutenant Stevens, and some others, in a canoe. They were well armed, and descended the Saint Lawrence. They saw the fleet, in which de Bougainville arrived, sail by. Lying concealed until the ships had passed, they resumed their journey. They met a schooner, which they took, by which they reached Prince Edward island. Thence they proceeded to Louisbourg. As Stobo offered his services in Wolfe's expedition, and from his local knowledge his presence being considered desirable, Whitmore sent him on the first opportunity to Quebec.

On the 24th, on the south side, parties were detailed east and west to take prisoners and bring in cattle. Major Dalling, of the light infantry, returned with 200 prisoners, mostly women and children, and thirty men, with 300 cattle, horses, cows and sheep. A few prisoners were brought in two days later with 200 head of cattle. On the 25th some gun boats attracted the attention of the fleet at the anse de Saint Michel. Boats started in pursuit, and two of them ascending to cap Rouge were taken. The noise of the guns caused the report to be spread that an attempt had been made to land, and great anxiety had been felt, soon to pass away. On the night of the 29th another attempt was made to burn the British ships, by sending down the fire-raft. Like the previous attempts, it proved a failure. The fleet was constantly on its guard against enterprises of this character, and every night boats were placed on duty to watch for such a descent. As the outlines of the raft approaching them were discernible, the men in the boats fired upon it. Those in charge at once set fire to and abandoned it. It commenced to burn fiercely, but the British sailors took it in tow, and carried it past the shipping, to burn out harmlessly on the shore.

During these operations a flag of truce was sent from the fleet to convey the offer that the women taken prisoners would be restored on condition that a small boat laden with wounded and sick was allowed to pass. The offer was accepted. The women, escorted with great politeness, accordingly arrived at three o'clock in the afternoon. The names of the officers, who had made each set of them prisoners, had been given to them. The British undertook not to begin the cannonade from Point Lévis until nine o'clock, so as to give them the opportunity to retire to where they thought fit. At that time the bombardment recommenced. During the night the parish church was burned, with the block of houses extending from Fabrique to Saint Joseph street.

Within the city there were so many thefts by the soldiers, militia and sailors, that it was considered necessary to issue a commission for their repression, entrusted with the duty of summarily hanging any one taken in the act; before the last of July three were so executed.

On the 25th an event occurred to the north of Montmorency, which is related, in by no means the same language, by French and English writers. As the British loss was 5 officers and 32 privates, 12 of whom were killed, the affair must have been sufficiently serious. The facts appear to be that a large force of Indians, under de Répentigny, crossed the ford and caused themselves to be seen, and retired to place themselves in ambush. The British turned out a large force against them. According to Panet, the Indians remained three hours lying flat on the ground. It is difficult to accept his statement because he describes the British loss at sixty killed. It is plain, however, that they watched the opportunity to make their attack, and, as the 35th came up without precaution, fired into them. We are told that de Répentigny sent a messenger to de Lévis for a reinforcement of two thousand men to follow up his success, and that the latter, in his turn, referred the request to Montcalm, consequently the troops came too late. The story is inadmissible. De Lévis is himself silent on the subject; a proof that the event was without importance. Moreover, he was in command at the extreme left, and on his own responsibility could have sent the troops to de Répentigny as he deemed expedient. All that he might have required was that their absence might be temporarily supplied. The Indians immediately recrossed the ford, the British account is that they were driven back, and as they were passing the stream, they received three rounds by which sixty-five of them were killed.

On the 25th Wolfe published a second proclamation from Saint Henri, a village on the Etchemin river, which enters the Saint Lawrence a few miles west of Point Lévis. It was immediately known at Quebec, for it is given in full by Panet. Wolfe complained of the inattention of the *habitants* to his previous demands, consequently he had determined no longer to listen to the appeal to humanity which had made him desirous of solacing their distress. The Canadians by their conduct had made themselves unworthy of his consideration. He had given orders accordingly for prisoners to be seized. As he was anxious to avoid the barbarous conduct of the Canadians, he would defer until the 1st of August * to decide what reprisals he would make on the prisoners he might take, unless the Canadians submitted to the terms of his previous proclamation.

The fire from the English batteries at Montmorency greatly troubled the left of the French line, in spite of the *épaulement* which they constructed for protection against it, while the well-directed artillery service prevented the completion of a battery against the British camp which had been commenced.

Wolfe now determined on an attack against the extreme left of the French lines at Montmorency. The plan was carefully considered with admiral Saunders ; special provision had to be taken with regard to the assistance given by the fleet. The large ships of war, owing to the want of depth of water, could not approach the enemy's intrenchments. The mode of attack determined on was, that two flat-bottomed boats † with guns should be sunk opposite the redoubt at the extreme east of the French lines, to some extent commanded by the cannon of the British batteries. The "Centurion" frigate was placed in the north channel to sustain them. They came into position about eleven o'clock, and at twelve the firing commenced. De Lévis, who was in command in the French lines, about one o'clock formed the opinion that some movement was threatened against the upper ford, where de Répentigny was in command, as a strong column marched in that direction. Accordingly, he directed five hundred men to proceed thither with some Indians, and he ordered Duprat, a captain of volunteers, to watch the operations. He observed, however, that the boats from Point Lévis and also from the island of Orleans were making their way to the western point of the island. The corresponding locality on the northern shore not being strongly defended, he changed the direction of the troops and ordered the officer in command to communicate with the Montreal battalion. As no offensive movement had yet been made by the British, he resolved carefully to watch where the real attack would be directed, and to hold in hand a strong force to meet it. The battalion of Béarn on the left was reinforced, the Montreal battalions were extended along the intrenchment, the Three Rivers force of one hundred men was kept in reserve (*en panne*) if necessary to reinforce de Répentigny. Montcalm came upon the ground and discussed the probabilities of the attack, when the plan of defence was determined. De Lévis placed himself between the two redoubts and Montcalm returned to de Vaudreuil.

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* Dussieux makes the period the 10th. I have followed the date of Panet.

† The naval term is "catamaran," generally abbreviated to "cat."

The British boats moved across the waters, threatening the different points which appeared accessible, and the French were greatly puzzled where the attack would be made. In the meantime the guns from the British intrenchments east of the falls were directed against the French redoubt, in addition to the cross fire from the batteries on the sunken "cats" and the guns of the frigate. Little loss was, however, experienced. Towards five o'clock the boats came between the two vessels and advanced up the channel, to disembark at the eastern point of the French intrenchments. The low tide had made the ford below the falls passable. As the boats were advancing towards the shore, some of them grounded on a ledge of mud. It threw them into disorder, and some time was lost in re-forming them, consequently an officer was despatched to Townshend, at the falls, to delay his march. The boats were got off, and again formed in rank, and Wolfe, accompanied by some naval officers, approached the shore to search for some fitting place to land, taking with them one flat-bottomed boat. It was now about six o'clock, but in the long evenings of July, when there is light until after nine, it was considered that there was time enough to make the attempt. The troops accordingly disembarked. The thirteen companies of grenadiers, and 200 of the Royal Americans, were ordered to form into four columns to make the attack supported by Monckton's corps, so soon as the troops passed the ford.

Monckton had not landed, and Townshend's force, although on the march in perfect order, was at some distance, when the grenadiers, without waiting for orders, rushed upon the redoubt below the escarpment ; it was at once abandoned. At the same time the French were seen to line the upper intrenchments, and de Lévis moved up the Royal Rousillon to take part in the defence.

The success, if it can be so called, had the effect of causing the force to throw aside all discipline, and in confusion the men rushed forward to attack the intrenchment. They had difficulty in the ascent ; it had rained heavily for the four days from the 21st to the 24th. During the succeeding period the ground retained much of its moisture and the heavy clay bank was clammy and slippery. Accordingly, there was little regularity and much confusion. It was the oft-repeated story, "some one had blundered." *

The whole force of the French was now concentrated at this point. Panet tells us that there were 1,500 regular troops and 1,500 Canadians posted to defend it. The whole 12,000 were placed to sustain them. Be the number of defenders what it may, the troops were effectually checked by the first fire, and fell back to the redoubt. Several officers made the effort to reform them. At the same time a furious storm came on, which, de Lévis tells us, hid the British from the French view. It was impossible to ascend the clay bank, full of gullies and deep holes ; it had become perfectly slippery. Wolfe accordingly directed the re-embarkation of the troops, seeing it impossible to persevere in the attack. The wounded were placed in the barges, and the men whom the other boats could not bring away joined Townshend's force, and marched across the ford to the Montmorency camp. There was no

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* The movement has never been accounted for. It has been attributed to a misconception of orders through the cheers of the sailors. Another explanation is, that a captain without orders caused the advance to be beat.

interruption on the part of the French to the retreat. The two "cats" were burned.

According to Knox, the loss was 443 killed and wounded, including 33 officers.

On the 2nd of August de Vaudreuil sent a flag of truce, with a letter stating that he had buried fifty dead. The officer gave the French loss as thirty-two killed and wounded. He was the bearer of a letter from captain Ochterlony, who had been severely wounded, in which he said that he owed his life to a French grenadier, who had saved him from being scalped. Wolfe replied by sending money for the use of the wounded man, and he enclosed twenty guineas to be given to the grenadier. Montcalm felt himself called upon to refuse the money, saying that he hoped every soldier in the French army would do the same.* Wolfe also wrote to the *Supérieure* of the hospital, asking her particular care of Ochterlony. In spite, however, of all that could be done, he died on the 24th of August. His baggage was returned with a flag of truce.

There were at this date one thousand Indians serving on the side of the French. Without exception, when they could do so, they took their enemy's scalp. On this day, as the repulsed British troops retreated to their camp, swarms of figures were seen descending to where the dead lay, it was supposed to assure the possession of this trophy of victory.

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* I cannot look upon this proceeding as an "absurd piece of affectation," as it is called by Knox. It appears to me a profound act of policy, for to receive the money would have been an admission that the French recognized the Indian practice of scalping. Montcalm must have remembered that his own reputation had been compromised at Chouaguen by Indian cruelty, and that the massacre by the Indians at William Henry, by many was looked upon as a blot on a name otherwise honourable. By the refusal he repelled the idea that scalping was countenanced by the higher ranks of the army.

CHAPTER VIII.

The failure at Montmorency was a serious matter, inasmuch as it created grave doubts if the Beauport shore was the spot where the attack was to be made. Townshend admits that he made a protest against its repetition.* It had, however, this advantage, that when the troops were repulsed it was easy to regain the ships. At the same time, if the landing were made good, there would have been still a battle to be fought before Quebec was reached. This truth was apparent to Wolfe, for he states that he desired to drive Montcalm to fight him on equal terms, and he had little doubt as to the result. He must have felt great anxiety when he reflected on the advanced season. It was August, and in a few weeks, from the severity of the approaching winter, the fleet must leave. At one time he thought under these circumstances, of intrenching himself at île aux Coudres, and remaining there until reinforcements should reach him in spring for the renewal of the attack. On one point he had no uncertainty, the necessity of not permitting the spirit of the men to become depressed by inactivity; accordingly he organized an expedition to destroy the French ships. They were then at the foot of what was then called the Richelieu rapids, some seven miles above the Point aux Ecureils,† where they had been stopped by the wind. Wolfe resolved to attempt to destroy them, so that he could open some communication with general Amherst. Admiral Holmes was charged with the naval part of the duty. On the 5th of August, twenty flat-bottomed boats were sent up the river to the "Sutherland," which was above the town, to embark twelve hundred troops, under the command of Murray. The force consisted of detachments of the 15th regiment, the Royal Americans, the light infantry, and the rangers. His instructions were to assist admiral Holmes, and to seek every opportunity of fighting the enemy, provided he could do so on tolerable terms.

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* "Refutation of a letter to an honourable brigadier-general."

† These rapids have ceased to exist in modern times, the projecting rocks which caused them having been removed. There is still on occasions some slight increase of current.

The advance of the British ships up the river pointed to the necessity of protecting the various places on the river bank, many containing provisions and property. De Bougainville was selected for the duty of defending them with a picked corps of fifteen hundred men. Some troops had previously been under the command of Dumas, but he was recalled and the number increased. De Bougainville's instructions were to watch the advance of the ships and to oppose the landing of any force, concentrating his own detachment to do so. Accordingly, when Murray made the attempt on Point aux Trembles, on the 7th of the month, he found a large body of men prepared vigourously to resist him. He made the descent at four o'clock in the afternoon, opposite the church. It appears to have been a feint and that the real attack was directed near a stream known as la Muletière, half a league above the river Jacques Cartier. De Bougainville was present with one thousand men and had thrown up some intrenchments. The boats advanced only to be beaten back with much loss.* On the following day, the 8th, Murray landed on the south shore. There was a feeble attempt at resistance by a hundred *habitants*, but Murray had no difficulty in establishing himself at Saint Antoine. As it was found impracticable to proceed up the river, Holmes, being unwilling to risk his ships, sailed back to his station above Quebec.

On the 11th an armed schooner passed the city, and its appearance must have puzzled de Bougainville, for he failed to be present on the 18th, when Murray attacked Dechambeau, about forty-one miles from Quebec. A large house, occupied by a Mde. Ruffio, one of the mistresses of Cadet, contained a large amount of stores of the army, and several officers had left their baggage there. It was burned. Montcalm, on hearing of the loss, went to the spot in person. He was accompanied by Dumas and 1,200 troops. He found the British had reimbarked without losing a man,* carrying with them a great many cattle, and, according to another authority, several women as prisoners, and obtaining possession of many important papers. The British recrossed the river to Saint Antoine and Saint Croix, which on the 19th they burned. On the 25th Holmes and his ships returned. Early in the month Wolfe had issued a third proclamation, which had been taken to Quebec by some Canadian prisoners who had been released. Wolfe referred to his two former appeals to the population, and he threatened them with severe reprisals if they failed to lay down their arms by the 20th of August. As Murray had been attacked in his outposts at Saint Antoine, he destroyed the country in its neighbourhood. There had always been a difference of opinion between Montcalm and de Vaudreuil. Montcalm was opposed to weakening his force by sending out detachments, de Vaudreuil advocated *la petite guerre*, according to the Canadian custom. Some of the Canadians who had been set at liberty by Wolfe came to Quebec, and spoke of the kind treatment they had received, and it is plain that many desired to remain quiescent. This course, however, was not permitted to them. The Indians were encouraged to continue their surprises, their destruction of stragglers, the attack of outposts, and the concomitant scalping; indeed, to carry on the war as was the custom in the time of de Frontenac. Towards the end of July, de Vaudreuil received a letter which was unsigned, complaining of this mode of warfare. He was induced to reply directly to Wolfe, proposing a parley, adding that the use of such meetings was becoming too frequent. Colonel Barré replied on the part of Wolfe, expressing his astonishment at the remark, and entering his protest against the enormous cruelties already committed, by which the British troops were greatly exasperated. Such acts if repeated, he said, would hereafter meet with the severest reprisals, and there would be no difference made between French Canadians and Indians when taken prisoners. Barré related that by an intercepted letter Wolfe read that three grenadiers of the American regiment were destined to be burnt alive. Wolfe desired to be informed what had become of the men. The letter was answered by de Bougainville, to the effect that the tale was soldier's gossip ; the fate of the prisoners had been the same as others taken by the Indians, they had been ransomed by the king at considerable expense. De Bougainville had not been instructed to reply to the menaces made, for nothing of that sort would make them cowards or barbarians. Barré had alluded to the infraction of the capitulation of William Henry, de Bougainville answered that the French were justified by the facts of that event throughout Europe.

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* Panet says 200 killed and as many wounded. The total number of casualties in the campaign shows that this number is greatly exaggerated. The loss, however, was sufficient to lead Murray to desist in his attack.

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* Joannès, Dusieux, p. 387.

On the 7th of the month it was known in Quebec that Niagara had surrendered. Following so soon the news of the abandonment of Ticonderoga on the 27th of July, and of Crown Point on the 31st, the public mind of the town was cast into great dejection. The news had already spread among the people. It was feared that an advance by the Saint Lawrence would be immediately made upon Montreal, if not by île aux Noix. There was nothing to oppose the descent of the river, and it will be my duty, when I have to record the operations, to examine why this course was not taken. Except some weak garrisons at Detroit on lake Michigan and on the Illinois, every vestige of French power west of Oswego had been swept away. There were no longer any Ohio forts. These garrisons had been defeated in their advance to succour Niagara, and had swelled the number of prisoners which, on the conquest of that fort, had been taken and sent down the Mohawk. The only troops to oppose the descent of a British force was to be found in the few men at La Presentation and about eight hundred men stationed at "Galops" island, at the head of the rapids of that name, under St. Luc de la Corne. The place was utterly indefensible; de la Corne had himself written that it was not tenable. So desperate did the situation appear, that it was resolved to reinforce the western frontier even at the expense of Quebec, and as de Lévis put it, to trust somewhat to fortune.* Eight hundred men were detached from the forces defending Quebec, one hundred of whom were regulars, and de Lévis was appointed to the command of the frontier of Montreal. He left Quebec on the 9th of August, taking with him la Pause and Le Mercier. He arrived at Montreal on the 12th and left on the 14th for the West. Accordingly the operations of Amherst had some influence on the defence of Quebec, for it led to the removal of this able and distinguished soldier and the force I have named.

On the 25th the Saint Francis Abenakis brought in two officers and seven Indians whom they had seized. They were messengers from Amherst to Wolfe. By these despatches Amherst informed Wolfe that his movements would be guided by those before Quebec. There were many private letters from lake Champlain to officers of Wolfe's force; as they freely criticised the abandonment of the fortifications at Carillon, they could not have been pleasant reading to those perusing them. Holmes again received orders to endeavour to destroy the French ships. The "Lowestoffe," the "Hunter" sloop, two armed sloops and two "cats," with provisions, were ordered to pass Quebec to join the "Sutherland," but the wind was against them. It was only on the fourth attempt that they succeeded, and it was not until the 27th that they made the passage.

The appearance of these vessels caused much anxiety. The French had hitherto brought much of their provisions by water; even after the British vessels had sailed above the town the supplies were so carried to Saint Augustin, thirteen miles above Quebec. The principal storing point was Batiscan, sixty-seven miles above the city. Nevertheless provisions began to fall short, and, if the troops were to be kept together, additional bread and meat was required to feed them. As it was dangerous to continue to send the boats beyond Saint Augustin, it was determined to bring the provisions by land; but there was the difficulty that there were no men to drive the waggons, for they were with the army. The only alternative was to take the old men, women and children of sufficient age to perform the duty of teamsters. Two hundred and seventy-one carts were laden with several hundred lbs. of pork and flour, and by these feeble means subsistence from twelve to fifteen days reached the troops; but the women and children suffered such hardship that it was felt that the attempt could not be repeated, especially as the nights were commencing to turn cold. It will be seen that this fact had great influence on the subsequent operations. There was so much difficulty felt, owing to the presence of the frigates above Quebec in their interference with the delivery of provisions, that the project of bringing up the French vessels to attack them was discussed. A second proposal was to cut out the ships, but the more it was considered it was found the more impracticable.

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* "On résolut de donner un peu à la bonne fortune." Journal, p. 192.

While Murray was engaged with his force to the east of Quebec, Wolfe determined that some steps should be taken with regard to the country east of the island of Orleans. Parties had frequently issued from the bay of Saint Paul to fire upon the boats sent out from the shipping, and to surprise any small parties detached from the camp at Montmorency. In consequence, captain Gorham, with three hundred men, landed at three o'clock on the morning of the 4th of August, and forced two parties of twenty men who fired from the houses to take refuge in the woods. He then burned the village, which consisted of twenty houses. His loss was one killed and two wounded; the enemy left two dead behind them, and they retreated carrying away several wounded. Gorham proceeded easterly to Malbaie, and destroyed the settlement there. Crossing to the south shore, he burned the villages of Saint Roch and Saint Anne; he returned to the island of Orleans on the 15th. On the same day a party of about one hundred and seventy of the 78th regiment was moved to the island of Orleans and bivouacked in Saint Peter's church. On the 16th they were marched to the eastern end of the island opposite Saint Joachim, where they embarked in boats. On attempting to land on the north shore, they were fired upon, but the resistance was ineffectual, and the place was taken possession of. From time to time shots were fired from the woods. The force remained at Saint Joachim till the 22nd, when they were joined by one hundred and forty of the light infantry and a company of rangers, under captain Montgomery of the 43rd. On the 23rd the force marched to the village west of Saint Joachim, which they found occupied by two hundred Canadians and Indians, who commenced firing from the houses. The troops protected themselves by lying behind fences, while the rangers were sent forward to turn the French left. As the movement began to take effect, the defenders of the village made for the woods, pursued by the British. Several were killed and wounded ; many prisoners were taken. Montgomery acted with brutality, ordering them to be shot. Two of the prisoners had been promised quarter by Frazer, then a subaltern, who records the fact with expressions of horror. The houses were burned. They marched on the following day to l'Ange Gardien, being joined there by a detachment from Château Richer. Possession was taken of the houses which were fortified ; the two following days were passed in felling the fruit trees and cutting the wheat. On the evening of the 27th some Indians were discovered skulking about the houses, and one man of the force was shot. On the 28th the detachment proceeded to Château Richer, where they fortified the church. On the 31st they left Château Richer and burned down the village, leaving the church untouched, and marched to the camp at Montmorency, burning everything that lay in their path. Such was the retaliation that Wolfe felt himself called upon to inflict, to deter a continuance of the cruelties of *la petite guerre* of the Canadians and Indians.

By the middle of August the anxieties which Wolfe had undergone had told upon his health. Hitherto, in the conduct of the campaign, he had consulted only his own judgment and there were not wanting those, who considered that the campaign presented the hopeless prospect of closing in failure. Of this number was brigadier Townshend, and there is a letter of Murray's extant to show that he participated in this feeling. Not so Monckton, and it may be regarded as a misfortune that his severe wound at the action of the 13th of September made his departure for New York a necessity. The admiral, however, remained perfectly staunch; he wrote on the 5th of September, during the illness of Wolfe, and before victory was assured: "the enemy appear numerous and seem to be strongly posted, but let the event be what it will, we shall remain here as long as the season of the year will permit, to prevent their detaching troops against general Amherst." *

On the 22nd Wolfe was ill with fever, while his constant maladies, from which he was never entirely free, became more active. From his sick bed he sent a confidential letter to the brigadiers, and for the first time submitted to them his secret instructions. In his memorandum he states, that in order the public service may not suffer from his indisposition the brigadiers are to meet and consult on the best method of attacking the enemy. Wolfe foresaw that if the French army were defeated the town must surrender, as it was without provisions; he therefore considered that Montcalm should be attacked in preference to the place itself. There were three modes of making the attack: the Montmorency could be forded eight miles above its mouth, before daylight, and an advance made to Beauport. If the march were discovered, and the intrenchments manned the consequence would be plain. Secondly, if the troops from Montmorency passed the lower ford and by night marched to Beauport, the light infantry might succeed in getting in, and Monckton would attack in front. The third plan was a general attack of all the troops against Beauport.

On the 29th of August the three brigadiers met, when they gave the opinion that the probable method of striking an

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* Can. Arch., A. W. I., 88, p. 41.

effectual blow, was to transfer the troops to the south shore and carry on the operations above the town.

On the 2nd of September Wolfe wrote to the minister reporting this decision. He was then still weak. He had consulted with the admiral and engineer ; they had found that the passages leading from the lower to the upper town were intrenched. The lower guns would soon be silenced by the fleet, but the upper batteries could still do much injury to the shipping. He proceeded to state the reasons why he had laid waste the country ; one design was to induce Montcalm to attack him to prevent further ravages ; to return the insults inflicted by the Canadians ; and also to obtain prisoners as hostages. Major Dalling had surprised 380 prisoners in one of the villages, and he intended to keep them, and not permit any exchange until the end of the campaign. It was in this letter he informed the minister, that in case of a disappointment, he had intended to fortify île aux Coudres, and establish there a garrison of 3,000 men for its defence; but the season was too far advanced, for sufficient material to be obtained to cover so large a body of troops. He explained that the number of Indians, always on scout around the posts, made it impossible to execute anything by surprise. There were daily skirmishes with them, in which they were generally defeated. He gave a return of the casualities during the campaign, which, in all ranks, were 182 killed, 651 wounded, and 17 missing. It was in this memorable letter he said : "In this situation there is such a choice of difficulties that I own myself at a loss how to determine."

Wolfe criticised his own generalship in the operations of the 31st of July. He wrote to the admiral : "The great fault of that day consists in putting too many men into boats who might have been landed the day before, and might have crossed the ford with certainty, while a small body remained afloat, and the superfluous boats of the fleet employed in a feint that might divide the enemy's force. A man sees his errors often too late to remedy."*

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* Wright, p. 551.

In the plan of making the attack above the town, the risk, which had weight in his mind, was the difficulty of regaining the boats in case of a repulse. Wolfe well knew that he had only a few weeks before him to achieve his purpose, he expressly so states, "Beyond the month of September, I conclude our operations cannot go." Accordingly, he hastened his preparations for an attack above the town, and determined that it should be made with 5,000 men. With this view he resolved to abandon the camp at Montmorency, at the same time to maintain several vessels in the north channel, and every three and four days to send seamen and soldiers round the shore of the island of Orleans, to prevent any attempt on the part of the French at its repossession. On the last of August he wrote his last letter to his mother, in which he described the difference between himself and Montcalm, whom he represented to be "at the head of a great number of bad soldiers, and himself at the head of a small number of good ones."

The movement of the ships during the next twelve days shews the design of Wolfe to conceal his own plans, and to awaken the fears of the enemy in every part of his defences. There was, however, little prospect of disarming Montcalm's caution: the one hope of the defenders of Quebec was that they could prolong their resistance until, at the latest, the middle of October, when the first snow would warn the ships that navigation would soon be closed by ice, and that they could no longer remain in safety before the town. Six weeks of dogged defence was all that was necessary to set at naught the attempts of the British general, for winter, in all its severity, would then decide the issue of the campaign. Both sides knew, that what was to be done could not be deferred, and that the issue must immediately be determined.

The French were much exercised on the last day of August by an unusual movement at Point Lévis. At the same time two vessels which were lying at Saint Augustin ascended to Point aux Trembles. The fear was entertained that an attempt was really to be made on the French frigates. Two days previously it had been shewn that a ship of the line could ascend the Richelieu rapid. What added to the general anxiety was that one of the French frigates had run aground at Grondines; the force, consequently, now consisted of two king's frigates and three armed vessels. On the night of the 31st five more vessels ascended above Quebec, as if to join the expedition.

During this period of excitement the news from Montreal was of a character to calm the fears which prevailed. It had become plain to de Lévis that no further advance beyond Crown Point would be attempted by Amherst that season. As he describes the situation in his journal, the French schooners were peaceably cruising about lake Champlain, and Amherst as peaceably pushing on his works at Saint Frederick. That fort had greatly suffered when blown up on its evacuation, and Amherst was rebuilding it. De Bourlamaque looked upon himself as impregnable at île aux Noix. He had closed up both the channels of the river; and a wide morass extended along the shore, to lead to the feeling that the place could not be assailed by land.

There were evident signs of the intention of the British to abandon the camp at Montmorency. It was the only explanation of the constant passage of boats to and from the island to the north shore. On the 2nd the movement was continued, and, as during the day the fleet returned to Sillery, fears for the vessels up the river were no longer felt.

The boats continued to move up and down in front of Beauport as if endeavouring to find out some weak spot where a landing could be made. Early on the morning of the 3rd the operations of the British showed increased activity. One hundred boats, with troops, left Point Lévis for the fleet and about fifty proceeded towards Montmorency. The whole French line was placed under arms. By night it was known that the British camp at Montmorency had been evacuated, and that the entire force was now divided between Point Lévis and the island of Orleans. Montcalm began to entertain fears for his right; early on the 4th he removed some regiments from the left to strengthen it. He likewise marched the battalion of Guienne from Beauport to Sillery to protect the river line above Quebec. It remained there forty-eight hours when it was recalled. Had it continued in that position who can speculate on the consequence?

The fire in the meantime had not been intermitted from the guns at Point Lévis. On the 5th additional batteries were opened and the cannon thundered with increased force against the shattered and ruined city. A frigate ascended to the Etchemin. Everything portended some attempt above the town. De Bougainville was reinforced, with instructions to watch the shipping, and to be present at any attempt made by the troops to obtain a footing. But there were so many ships, and their movement was so constant in every direction, that it became a question of doubt and uncertainty where the danger lay. During the 5th a schooner arrived at cap Rouge, bringing provisions from Montreal. The vessel was fired upon by the frigate but she managed to make her way and land her cargo. Without this supply the defenders would have been in desperate straits; many of them would have had to be sent away. On the 6th the movements continued to be most disquieting, while the power of interference by the batteries of the town was so limited, that a schooner passed upwards, towing two barges, with no practical interference.

On the 7th there were eighteen vessels opposite Sillery; they ascended to cap Rouge, accompanied by sixty boats. They made a semblance of landing, and after rowing in all directions, as if engaged in a reconnoissance, they returned to the south shore. De Bougainville followed their movements during the night of the 7th and 8th, and remained under arms to observe the vessels which had joined the ships at cap Rouge. On the other hand, an opinion had gained ground, that the attack would be directed to the spot on the town side of the Saint Charles, known as la Canardière. It rained heavily all the night; nevertheless, to guard against the attempt, the whole force remained in bivouac until daylight.

All the provisions which the ability of Bigot had collected at Quebec had been consumed, and the troops now depended on the supplies which could be brought from Montreal. Great difficulty was experienced in the delivery of them at Quebec. It had been a matter of unusual effort to gather in the harvest at Montreal. De Lévis, on his arrival, detached four hundred men to aid in cutting it. He encouraged everyone to turn to the work ; women, priests, *religieuses*, children, and all who could aid. De Rigaud had also sent as many of the militia as could be spared, and a large quantity of wheat had been harvested. There had lately been much rain, and although the crops at Three Rivers and Quebec had a promising look, fears were entertained for their ripening ; consequently for the time the reliance for food was on what could be sent from Montreal, and the obstacles to such supplies reaching Quebec were many and serious. There were no longer any carts available, the horses having been taken for the artillery, and therefore the only means of transit was by water ; and the absence of the British ships had to be watched, so that the passage of the boats, bringing it, could be effected.

The fire still was directed against Quebec ; the attempt was even made to reach Saint Roch by the Point Lévis guns. On the 10th the firing was continued, while the fleet was kept passing between cap Rouge and Point aux Trembles. On the 11th there was great activity apparent on the part of the British force. The fire from Point Lévis was persevered in, and the fleet ascended the stream as if threatening the whole river side to Point aux Trembles. De Bougainville was again reinforced ; some Indians even were added to his column on the 12th. His detachment followed the ships up the river, prepared to meet any offensive movement on their part whenever it would be made.

On the 4th a letter had been received from Amherst, which could not be considered cheering to the leaders of the attacking force. It was dated the 7th of August from Crown Point. It gave no promise of his future movement to aid them in their now desperate undertaking. A second letter, addressed to the admiral, was confined to the request that transports should be sent to New York to carry to England the six hundred and seven prisoners taken at Niagara. Saunders received it on the day he despatched the flat-bottomed boats to embark the troops which had been marched up the south shore, to proceed with Holmes to destroy the enemy's ships: an attempt which could not be made.

There was thus no hope of aid from Amherst. There is scarcely an instance in history, where an expedition undertaken in accord with a settled plan of operations, was left so unaided as that of Wolfe. The secret of the inactivity of Amherst can only be attributed to his belief that Wolfe would fail in his enterprise. When Niagara had fallen there was nothing to prevent his descent of the Saint Lawrence. He had destroyed Carillon and fort Frederick, and why he should waste time in building vessels to attack île aux Noix is inexplicable, except in the belief that if he reached Montreal, owing to Wolfe's failure, he would have the whole French force upon himself. Amherst would risk nothing. His nature was eminently a cautious one. He placidly passed his time establishing himself at fort Frederick and in constructing vessels to cope with those of the French in lake Champlain. His campaign will be described in the following chapters. I cannot but think, whatever the risk, it was his plain duty to have left a sufficient garrison at fort Frederick to finish the fort and to continue his ship-building, and in August to have descended the rapids. It was the true generalship, and he so acted the following year, for, Montreal taken, île aux Noix, with the forts at Chambly and Saint John, could not have resisted for twenty-four hours. The exigencies of the operations on lake Champlain do not furnish a satisfactory explanation for his want of support of Wolfe in the hour of trial. It was not by his aid that Quebec fell. Amherst, and undoubtedly he was a man of a high calibre, cannot be recognized as the conqueror of Canada, although the final movements of the campaign were made under his command.*

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* The letter of Guy Carleton, afterwards lord Dorchester, to lord George Germaine, of the 20th of May, 1777, must be looked upon as a part of Canadian

For a few hours the army was depressed by the news that Wolfe was again prostrated by sickness and confined to his quarters: it was the mind acting upon the body which caused Wolfe's illness. His nature, however, was not one to yield to depressing influences. Although the painful impression must have been present that his future was at stake, and that failure was only another word for ruin, he never quailed before the desperate character of his position, and in every respect rose to the height of the demand upon his courage and genius. Never was a more conspicuous example that "courage mounteth with occasion;" * his stout heart in a few hours triumphed over physical weakness and debility, and he was again among the troops, superintending the arrangements for his final effort. On the 5th, the 28th, 35th, 47th and 58th were moved along the south shore and embarked on the vessels above the town. On the 6th, the 15th, 43rd and six hundred men of the 78th followed to the Etchemin, and, having crossed that river, took their place on the transports. Thus on the 7th there were four thousand men on board the ships. The vessels were much crowded, so much so that many of the men had to remain on deck, even when the weather was bad, and there was heavy rain on the 7th and 8th. Wolfe had ordered a feigned attack to be made on the Beauport shore on the morning of the 8th, but the weather led to its postponement.

Seeing that the troops would suffer by being overcrowded on the transports, Wolfe ordered sixteen hundred of them to be placed on shore, so that they could obtain rest and refreshment. He himself was on board the "Sutherland" off cap Rouge. It was from this vessel that he wrote his last despatch

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history [*vide* report, Can. Archives, 1885, p. cxxxiii.], for it is his protest against the treatment he received when superseded by the incompetent Burgoyne. He points out that seldom had a co-operating general stronger motives to exert his endeavours "to draw off part of those great numbers which opposed Mr. Wolfe. . . . yet Mr. Amherst did not pass this same lake Champlain, . . . and received no censure." Although mention is only incidentally made of Amherst's failure to advance, his want of co-operation with Wolfe in remaining at Crown Point is strongly condemned. The whole passage is well worthy of consideration.

* King John, II., 1.

to lord Holderness. After recapitulating the events of the campaign, he continues: "The weather has been extremely unfavourable for a day or two, so that we have been inactive. I am so far recovered as to do business, but my constitution is entirely ruined, without the consolation of having done any considerable service to the State, or without any prospect of it." *

It was resolved that the attempt should be made on the night of the 12th; the final orders were issued on the evening of the 11th. The troops were directed to embark at five in the morning, with the exception of the light infantry and the Royal Americans, who were to go on board at eight. All that the soldier took with him was two days' provisions, with his canteen of rum and water; an extra gill being served out owing to the night duty. As the order set forth: "Their ships, with their blankets, tents, necessaries, and so forth, will soon be up."†

The whole day of the 12th the men were engaged in cleaning their arms and examining their accoutrements. At nine at night the troops were to take their position in the boats. As the boats were moving forward, the "Sutherland" would show two lights in the main-topmast's shrouds, one above the other. The men were ordered to keep silent and not to discharge their muskets from the boats. The officers of the navy were not to be interfered with, and the frigates were not to fire until broad daylight.

On the afternoon of the 12th Wolfe issued the last order he was ever to publish. It was to the effect that the foremost party, on reaching the shore, should attempt to ascend the height, and, on succeeding in the attempt, was to march upon the enemy and drive him from his post. Officers must be careful that the men following on the path to the summit should not fire on those who had gone before. A detachment was to be left to secure the landing-place, the rest were to

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* Wright, p. 565.

† Orders Gen. Wolfe, p. 52.

march on and endeavour to drive the French from their ground and take possession of it.* ."The officers and men will remember," Wolfe continued, and his words may be looked upon as addressed to posterity, "what their country expects from them, and what a determined body of soldiers, inured to war, is capable of doing against five weak French battalions, mingled with disorderly peasantry. The soldiers must be attentive and obedient to their officers, and the officers resolute in the execution of their duty." †

It had been resolved that during their operations a demonstration should be made against Beauport, to awaken fears of a descent in that quarter. As evening wore on, the ships of the line approached the shore as near as they possibly could. Boats full of soldiers, marines, and blue-jackets were lowered and placed in order, as if contemplating a landing. As the evening advanced the ships of lighter draft sailed up the river, and joined the vessels at cap Rouge, and when darkness came on, the detachments were moved from the island of Orleans to Point Lévis, and the whole force unperceived proceeded to the spot appointed.

At midnight one light was shewn from the "Sutherland," and the troops embarked and rendezvoused between that vessel and the south shore. When the two lights appeared the boats commenced to drop with the tide. The point selected for disembarkation was the anse au Foulon, about two miles above the town. It had been examined on the 10th. Wolfe, with Holmes, Monckton, and Townshend reconnoitred it from the south side, below the Etchemin river from a rising ground. The bank at that time, at spots covered with small bush, was naturally precipitous, and it had been regarded by the French as impracticable for ascent. A picket of 100 men only had been detailed for its defence. On the night of the 12th the outpost was under the command of de Vergor, who had obtained an unfortunate notoriety by having been the commandant who surrendered Beauséjour. In all national misfortunes some explanation is generally offered. In this case the endeavour has been made to trace the successful landing to individual neglect. French Canadian indignation has been abundantly heaped upon de Vergor's memory. The study of his career does not convey the idea that he was a man of high character, that possibly he was self-indulgent; but those who calmly examine his conduct on this occasion, and will judge him with justice, cannot attach to him any particular blame. As Wolfe examined the northern shore from the opposite side, it was seen that a path passed up this height, and it was to command this path that de Vergor's picket had been established. The path itself had been broken and impeded by *abatis*, but it still could serve as the means of communication with the lower level. Wolfe's examination had further given him a view of the country to the plains of Abraham, and he saw that when in possession of the height, he would be able immediately to form his troops in line of battle. The boats detailed for service were only capable of holding seventeen hundred men. The first detachment was to consist of 400 men of the light infantry, and 1,300 taken from the 28th, 43rd, 47th and 58th, with some of the 78th highlanders. Two of the brigadiers, Murray and Monckton, were present. The ships containing the troops for the second landing were to follow the boats. They consisted of three frigates, a man-of-war sloop, three armed vessels, two transports, with some ordnance vessels. These ships contained the 15th, the Louisbourg grenadiers, the remaining companies of the 78th, the 35th, the 2nd battalion Royal Americans: amounting to 1,910 men. The total force of British troops which stood in line before Quebec on the morning of the 13th was, of all ranks, between 3,600 and 3,800 men.*

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* Wright, p. 572.

† On the evening of the 12th he sent for his old schoolfellow, John Jervis, then in command of the "Porcupine," to be known in history as earl of St. Vincent. During the conversation, Wolfe said that he had a presentiment that he should fall in the action, and accordingly gave Jervis Miss Lowther's miniature, to be sent to her if such should happen. He had already made his will. His plate he left to admiral Saunders; his camp equipage to Monckton; his books and papers to Carleton.

It has been † stated that captain Smith, an officer of the light troops, informed the brigadiers that the naval officer had stated to him, that by following the south shore there was danger of being carried past the landing place; and that not being able to communicate with Wolfe the brigadiers gave the

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* The state of "the strength of the army 13th September, before the battle of Quebec," is given in Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., vol. 88, p. 116, viz.:

Regiments.	Colonel.	Lt.-Colonel.	Major.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Chaplain.	Adjutant.	Q.-Master.	Sergeant.	Mate.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File	Total.
15th, Amherst's	..	..	1	3	14	3	..	..	..	..	..	20	2	279	322
28th, Bragg's	..	1	..	5	7	7	..	..	..	..	..	18	7	300	345
35th, Otway's	..	1	1	5	11	10	..	..	..	..	..	28	..	406	462
43rd, Kennedy's	..	..	1	6	6	5	..	..	1	..	..	19	11	256	305
47th, Lascelles'	..	1	..	5	8	8	..	..	..	..	..	21	7	196	246
48th, Webb's	..	1	..	5	15	8	..	..	..	1	1	33	14	649	727
58th, Anstruther's	..	..	1	4	7	6	..	..	..	..	..	19	2	300	339
60th (2), Monckton's	..	..	..	2	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	21	10	218	263
60th (3), Lawrence's	..	1	..	4	11	11	..	..	..	..	..	28	14	474	543
78th, Frazer's	..	..	..	6	11	5	..	..	..	..	..	23	12	532	589
Louisbourg Grenadiers	..	1	..	2	8	..	..	1	..	..	..	9	4	216	241
	..	6	4	47	104	69	..	1	1	1	1	239	83	3826	4382
Staff															13
															4395

From the total number the 3rd Batt. Royal Americans, placed to guard the landing-place, must be deducted. They amounted to 543 in strength, which would place the numbers at 3,852. In "A short authentic account of the expedition against Quebec in the year 1759," published at Quebec in 1872, the numbers are given at 3,610. The difference is not serious, and it is not improbable that the latter number may be correct, owing to the absence of many included in the state. This MS. is known as the "Thompson MS." For many years it was in the possession of dep. com.-genl. Thompson. The author is generally considered to have been Mr. James Thompson, who died at Quebec the 25th of August, 1830, in his 98th year. He arrived in Canada with Wolfe's force, and after the peace remained at Quebec. Subsequently he became overseer of works, to which office he was appointed by Haldimand. He was known to the duke of Kent, and received much attention from lord Dalhousie. Some dispute has arisen with regard to the authorship of this MS., into which I do not consider it necessary to enter.

† Townshend papers, p. 322, "Rough notes relating to the siege, etc."

order to descend by the north shore. I cannot myself accept the story as being even probable. Wolfe accompanied the first division to cap Rouge, where the "Sutherland" lay, about five miles west of the landing place, and it seems hardly possible to suppose that any other course would have been followed than the north shore.*

I have mentioned the distress which the French were suffering from want of food, and so urgent was the situation that it was determined to attempt to bring the provisions by water from Saint Augustin. The night of the 12th and 13th was selected for the attempt. The belief has been expressed that a deserter gave this information to Wolfe. The fact is so mentioned by de Lévis in an uncertain way; other writers are silent on this point. It may be said that information of this character would scarcely be known to the class of men, with whom desertions take place. On the whole, I think this story must be rejected. It is more probable that provisions had been sent in this form previously, and that they were again expected.

De Bougainville with his force was at cap Rouge; the manœuvring of the preceding day had led him to believe that the landing would be attempted, if not at cap Rouge, at some point between that locality and Point aux Trembles. Some *bateaux* and a sloop were in the small river, available for any emergency. The inaccessible character of the river bank east of cap Rouge removed the probability that an attempt would be made lower down. The activity in the "Sutherland" and the other ships was displayed in front of the shore he was observing; and at two o'clock in the morning there was nothing to lead him to fear that a movement would be made elsewhere. De Bougainville was simply out-generaled.

Between cap Rouge and Sillery there were three posts to be passed by the British boats. It was expected that barges with provisions would ascend the river, and an order had been given to allow them to proceed unchallenged. No countersign had been agreed upon; it was, perhaps, not possible to give one. The ascent of these boats, by one of those fatalities in war, had been delayed until the following day. The three posts were those of the chevalier de Rumigny of "la Sarre," of M. Duglas, of "Languedoc," and of de Vergor. The sentries of the first two challenged the leading British boat. A captain of the light infantry who spoke French answered the challenge by "la France;" being considered to be the provision boats, they were allowed to pass. The first boat, driven by the tide, actually passed the point of landing; as it was difficult to contend against the strong ebb tide, it was resolved to make the attempt where the men were. It was an hour before daybreak when the gallant little band began scrambling up the rocky height. After some short interval the noise alarmed the sentries, who commenced firing down the pathway. The other troops had now landed, and prepared to climb the steep rock. The troops in the first boats were the light infantry under Howe, picked men, in the first years of youth and strength. With dauntless despatch they persevered, soon to reach the crest. It took them but a few minutes to form and charge the picket. The French, taken by surprise, for they were only looking for an approach by the path, made slight resistance. De Vergor was wounded and taken prisoner with half his picket; the remainder rushed towards the town, giving the alarm to sentries on the bank, who fired down on some of the boats that had dropped beyond the landing-place. These boats were brought back by Wolfe himself, who directed his men to row after them. The ascent was now clear from obstruction, and the troops, unembarrassed by resistance, followed it to the summit. One gun was carried up the height and made ready for action. Wolfe now detached some of the light infantry to examine the neighbouring woods and to scour the front of the bank towards the town. There was a four-gun battery which was commencing to be troublesome, which Howe was ordered to take. A small body of troops had established themselves in a house, from which they were firing, and some Indians in an adjoining thicket became aggressive ; after a few shots both parties were dispersed. It was now about six o'clock. The British were formed with their right to the town, facing the Saint Louis road. Wolfe, seeing the enemy increasing in numbers before him, changed his position, and placed himself in their front. By this time the 48th regiment and third battalion of Royal Americans had landed, bringing the expeditionary force to its full strength. This battalion of Royal Americans did not take its position in the field, but was placed to guard the place of landing.

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* The well known story of Wolfe repeating some lines from Grey's "Elegy," on the authority of professor Robinson of Edinburgh, at that period a midshipman in the navy, establishes the presence of Wolfe in the first division.

Monckton was in command of the right. It consisted of the 28th, the 35th and the 43rd. On the extreme left the 35th was formed *en potence*,* with the 48th in reserve. The centre, commanded by Murray, included the 47th, the 78th highlanders and the 58th regiment. Brigadier Townshend was on the left with the 15th *en potence*, and the 2nd 60th or Royal Americans, in reserve. His command was to act as a second line.

De Ramezay, *lieutenant pour le roi*, was left in command of the city, with 1,500 men, generally composed of the land troops, the militia and the crew of the ships which had been told off to serve the batteries. The alarm had been early given by the musketry shots heard at the anse au Foulon. De Ramezay was absent and the chevalier de Bernetz, who was in command, ordered some militia out to meet the attack. On the Beauport lines the troops had been on bivouac all night, from hour to hour, looking for an attempt to land. Montcalm, himself, had remained with them until one o'clock. About six o'clock, when the troops had gone off duty in the trenches, after drinking "some dishes of tea," Montcalm ordered the horses to be saddled to ride to de Vaudreuil's quarters, and it was between six and seven he first heard of the landing. He said a few words to de Vaudreuil, and remarking to Johnston, his aide-de-camp, that the affair was serious, sent him with orders to colonel Poulariez that he should remain at the ravine with two hundred men and despatch the remainder of his force to the plains as fast as they could march. Montcalm himself assembled all the troops that were available and led them across the Saint Charles. The distance to the battle field is about six miles. The two Montreal battalions, amounting to fifteen hundred men, were left to guard the camp at Beauport.

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* Troops formed with two fronts, in the form of the letter V.

Montcalm arrived on the ground before nine, and his line of battle was rapidly formed. The Indians had already fired from the wood and had been troublesome, while the militia with some Indians had lined the bushes in front and commenced an irregular fusilade. Townshend described this force as formed of the best marksmen.

Montcalm placed a thousand Indians and Canadians on the flanks, who somewhat "galled" the British, while the fire of some skirmishers proved equally effective. It was returned from the British line, but the ranks remained unbroken; and the one field-piece forced up the height was rapidly and admirably served. The French brought two pieces into action. On the right some colonial troops were placed with the regiments of "la Sarre" and "Languedoc;" the centre was held by the regiments of "Béarn" and "Guyenne," succeeded on the left by the "Royal" Rousillon, some colonial troops and the Canadian militia. The French force amounted to between four and five thousand men. Without pretensions to exactness, it may be said that they must have amounted nearly to the latter number.[*]

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[*] It is exceedingly difficult to form a correct estimate of the troops brought into the field by the French, on the 13th of September.

There is a memorandum attached to the despatch of Townshend of the 15th September [Can. Arch., A. & W. I., vol. 88, p. 147] which places the force at 3,440.

Right...	La Colonie........	350		1 12-pounder.
	La Sarre..........	340		
	Languedoc........	320		
			1,010	
Column..	Béarn............	200		
	La Guienne.......	200		
			400	
Left...	Royal Rousillon...	230		1 12-pounder intended to be here but was not placed.
	La Colonie.......	300		
			530	

To Montcalm there appeared no alternative; both duty and policy consisted in immediately engaging the enemy. Every hour would strengthen his numbers and render him more formidable. Even as the battle was being fought, sailors were

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Militia in the bushes and along the face of the bank......	1,500
Total	3,440

M. Bougainville's command	5 companies Grenadiers, 150 Canadian Volunteers, 230 Cavalry, 870 Militia.	Total 1,500 men.

Bigot describes the number as 3,500, "ne formoient que 3,500 hommes ou environ." [Letter of the 15th October to Maréchal de Belle-isle, Dussieux, p. 402.] De Lévis gives the number from 3,500 to 3,600 men, [Journal, p. 208.] "Pour la garnison de la ville on n'en fit aucun usage, de sorte que lorsque tout fut assemblé, il ne se trouva que trois mille cinq à six cent hommes pour combattre, dont très peu de troupes reglées."

The writer of the memoir "Evénements de la Guerre en Canada durant les années 1759 et 1760," published by the Historical Society of Quebec, and which is partially translated in New York Documents [vol. X., pp. 1016-1046], calculates the force at 4,500 [p. 66.] It appears to me that we have the means approximately of judging the French numbers. This writer gives the original strength of the French force as follows [p. 31]:—

Land Troops....................	1,600	
Marine...........	600	
Canadians.........	10,400	
Volunteers.....	200	
		12,800
Indians		918
Total.......		13,718

We have of the fighting force of.....		12,800
Left in Quebec as garrison	1,500	
Sent to Montreal with de Lévis.............	1,000	
With de Bougainville......................	2,300	
Killed and wounded dnring the siege, say....	1,000	
Left in garrison at Beauport...............	1,500	
		7,300
Leaving effective..............		5,500

Montcalm did not commence the action until ten o'clock, so it may be inferred that he strengthened his force as much as possible. It is on this data I have given the numbers in the text. No account has been taken of the Indians.

forcing up the height, guns and stores. There was a large reserve force on the ships which could be landed in a few hours. It was in Wolfe's power to intrench himself where he was, and to cut off all supplies of every kind coming from the

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The extent of the casualties has also some relationship with the numbers brought into the field.

The French loss was reported by Townshend in his letter of the 20th of September to Pitt. "I believe their loss that day might amount to 1,500; they have at least now 500 wounded in their Hospital General." On the 16th of October Saunders wrote Pitt [Can. Arch, A. & W. I., p. 45] that 1,000 French officers, soldiers and seamen had been embarked on board some "cats" to proceed to France. De Lévis in his journal gives an account of the losses of the 13th, which refers to the regular troops only [pp. 218–9]. It is somewhat difficult to be understood, but if I read it aright, 11 officers were killed, 28 were wounded, who were made prisoners; 7 wounded officers remained with their regiments, 137 rank and file killed, 352 wounded and prisoners, 423 are reported as sent to France.

The official report of the British loss is:—

Killed.			
Officers (general Wolfe)		1	
Royal Artillery	1		
Captains	6		
Lieutenants	1		
Ensigns	1		
		9	
Sergeants	3		
Rank and file	45		
		48	
			58
Wounded.			
Staff		6	
Captains	13		
Lieutenants	26		
Ensigns	10		
		49	
Sergeants	25		
Drummers	4		
Rank and file	506		
		535	
Artillery		7	
			597
Killed and wounded			655

All writers agree in the imperfect resistance made by the French line.

De Lévis in his Journal, p. 209, thus records it: "Notre droite plia et fut suivie successivement de toute la gauche avec la plus grande confusion."

Bigot remarks [Dussieux, p. 402], "la notre prit malheureusement la fuite à la première décharge des ennemis."

west; below Quebec the country had been devastated as far as Malbaie, so that it could not furnish a bushel of wheat. The whole daily food of the garrison could only reach the troops from Three Rivers and Montreal. The enemy's fleet commanded the river. With several thousand men within the city and intrenched east of it, not a mouthful of bread or meat could reach the force. Why, it has also been asked, did Montcalm not wait for the arrival of de Bougainville, who had twenty-three hundred men with him, and among the best troops of the army? He virtually so acted, for he did not attack before ten o'clock. De Bougainville had no more distance to pass over to engage Wolfe, than Montcalm himself had to march. From Montcalm's head-quarters to the battle field is about six miles. It was no further from cap Rouge than it was from Beauport to the plains of Abraham. De Bougainville had been on bivouac all night, watching the operations of the fleet before him, not knowing where the landing would be attempted. His fears had been directed to the country above, rather than anticipating danger below. It was not unreasonable for him to suppose that, so near to the city, the garrison and the outlying pickets were sufficient to guard against danger. As has been shewn, the first ascent by Howe was east of the known path, where an attempt at landing was looked upon as impossible; the picket was surprised; and it

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De Ramezay in his "Mémoire," p. 8, states, "dès la première décharge notre armée fut mise en déroute . . Les débris de notre armée retournèrent en désordre à Beauport."

The writer of the "Evénements de la guerre en Canada durant les années 1759 et 1760, p. 67," gives this description of the action: "Ils [the British] ripostèrent ensuite avec beaucoup de vivacité, et le mouvement qu'un détachement de leur centre d'environ 200 hommes fit en avant, la bayonnette au bout de fusil suffit pour faire prendre la fuite à presque toute notre armée; les Canadiens accoutumés à réculer à la manière des Sauvages (et des anciens Parthes) et à retourner ensuite à l'ennemi avec plus de confiance qu'auparavant se rallièrent en quelques endroits, et à la faveur des *petits bois* dont ils étaient environnés ils forcèrent differens corps à plier, mais enfin il fallut céder à la supériorité du nombre."

The two last-named references are in accordance with the publications of the Hist. Soc. Quebec.

was in hand-to-hand encounters of this character the weakness of the Canadian militia was felt. It was said of them in bush fighting, one Canadian was equal to three French soldiers, but in the regular operations of war one French disciplined man was of more account than three men taken from their farms.

The explanation of every proceeding of the French appears to me to be simple; they were bewildered by the masterly generalship of Wolfe, by his readiness of resource, and by his multiplicity and rapidity of movement, which made his designs impenetrable. Moreover, while Wolfe's genius could combine and direct, he felt the confidence of the experienced soldier, that the disciplined force he commanded would achieve all that could be hoped from courage and steadiness. What personal gallantry and military capacity could supply to the French force, was efficiently furnished by Montcalm and de Sénezergue, the second in command. The troops were led forward gallantly to the attack. They fired a volley and marched onwards. They appear to have been pressed for room. With steady and disciplined troops the consequence would not have been serious, but with the militia of which Montcalm's force was to some extent composed, it caused confusion and disorganization. The advance was made irregularly, and cohesion in the ranks was broken. The attack on the left, where Townshend commanded, was reportd by him to have been "brisk and animated." Wolfe's instructions to his soldiers had been earnest and plain, not to throw away their fire. Early in the morning he had directed his men to lie down until the attack should commence, in order to spare them from the dropping fire which came from the Canadians and Indians, and to give them rest, throwing out pickets on his flank to prevent surprise. They had been somewhat harassed by some Indians in a corn field on the right, but Monckton dispersed them. Wolfe's men were accordingly comparatively fresh, for they had had two hours' inaction.

There could have been scarcely a man in the British ranks who did not feel how much depended on his own manhood.

The situation was essentially one to call forth those qualities which, from the early days of English history, have become traditional. Even in modern times many of the greatest victories of the British race have been obtained under adverse circumstances. The meanest capacity present must have seen that the British soldier, as he stood, an invader before the town, could only look forward to victory or annihilation : that as he sowed he must reap. Such an hour had long been in contemplation, for the dawn of coming events had unmistakably appeared on the horizon. The teaching of the 31st of July, when the impetuosity of the grenadiers was publicly reproved in general orders as the cause of failure, must have come to every man's mind to enforce the thought, that steadiness was as indispensable as courage. It is no figure of speech to say that they were present to conquer or to die, and each individual of that serried band must have felt that the enemy was to be hopelessly defeated, or their own bones must whiten the plains on which they stood.

The British troops steadily came forward, receiving the French fire without any return, until within forty yards, when they fired. The volley was repeated, and with such terrible effect, that the enemy gave way without further resistance. Wolfe early in the action had been hit in the wrist, but he simply tied his handkerchief round his wound. Giving the order to fix bayonets, he placed himself at the head of the Louisbourg grenadiers to lead the charge. As they advanced, he was struck by a musket ball in the breast. The wound was mortal ; he could not stand. He asked the officer beside him to support him, and begged to be carried to the rear, requesting that the fact might be concealed. "The day is ours," he continued, "keep it." As they reached a redoubt which had been captured in the morning, he requested to be laid down. One present proposed to run for a doctor, when he told them it was useless, for all was over. He lay there motionless, doubtless from physical weakness ; but what was the thought which, while the flickering flame of life was passing away, still animated that noble, highly organized nature? As this comatose condition continued, it was thought he was dead, when one of those present exclaimed, "They run! They run!" "Who run?" cried Wolfe, with an effort of earnestness as if he were awakened from stupor. "The enemy, sir," was the reply; "they run away everywhere." As he heard the words, Wolfe said, "Go one of you, my lads, to colonel Burton, tell him to march Webb's regiment with all speed down to Charles river to cut off the retreat of the fugitives from the bridge." He turned on his side as if to get relief from pain, but the end came only too soon. Wolfe's last words were, "God be praised: I die in peace." Wolfe was in his thirty-third year.

CHAPTER IX.

The aide-de-camp who informed Monckton that the command had fallen upon him, found him prostrate with a severe wound. When leading on the 47th he had been struck by a ball, which entered by the right breast, passed through part of the lungs, and was afterwards cut out under the blade bone of the shoulder.* The French were then giving way, and in the space of fifteen minutes the whole line had retreated in disorder. The fugitives rushed down the hill to the Saint Charles, while others endeavoured to enter the city. On the left of the French line a small body for a time stood their ground, and served a gun, in the hope of checking the pursuit; on the right about nine hundred of the Canadian militia attempted a desultory attack, skirmishing from the woods, but they were driven from their position by an advance of the 28th and 43rd.

At this period Townshend assumed the command. His first orders were to recall the troops, and to re-establish his line. During the whole morning the weather had been threatening and portended a storm, but as the British were reforming, and taking up their ground, the sun appeared, and the whole landscape was gilded with the brightness and charm of the Canadian after-summer.

By this time de Bougainville's detachment appeared in the rear, and was seen advancing. Two battalions were directed against him ; de Bougainville, however, had both heard and seen that the battle had been fought and lost ; he immediately retreated from the field, and on the part of the British there was no attempt to interfere with him.

In the action Montcalm was mortally wounded. Sénezergue, the second in command, was struck down, and was carried a prisoner on board ship to die. St. Ours, the next in rank, was killed. Montcalm, nevertheless, was endeavouring to rally the troops, when he received a bullet in the lower part of the abdomen. The injury was so serious that he could not sit on his horse, and was carried into Quebec to the house of Arnoux, the king's surgeon. The elder brother was absent, the younger examined the wound, and Montcalm heard the opinion that it was mortal. He asked how long he could live. Arnoux replied that he might hold out until three in the morning. The writer * of the narrative sent to Montcalm to say, that if he could be of use, he would come immediately to Quebec. The man returned with the message that Montcalm had only a few hours to live, and that it was his advice for the writer to remain at his post with Poulariez, until the arrival of de Lévis. Montcalm passed the remaining hours of his life conversing with those around him with calmness, and with his senses unimpaired. "I die content, he said, since I learn (? leave) the affairs of the king, my dear master, in good hands. I always had a very great consideration for the talent and capacity of M. de Lévis." Montcalm peacefully breathed his last during the early hours of the 14th of September.

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* Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., 88, p. 110.

The loss of the French amounted from twelve to fifteen hundred men. Two hundred and fifty prisoners were taken in the field, among them ten captains and six subalterns.† The French were pursued to the walls, and many killed in the glacis and ditch. The 28th, 43rd, and Louisbourg grenadiers charged with their bayonets, while the 78th highlanders, drew their broad swords, that terrible weapon in the pursuit of an enemy, and sustained by the 58th, caused great havoc. There were two houses in which a detachment of the light infantry were stationed, from which they repeatedly sallied to dislodge the Canadian militia as they gathered from time to time to renew an irregular fire; finally, the 15th regiment

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* Que. Doc., IV., p. 231.

† Saunders to Pitt, without date, after the action. Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., 88, p. 46.

attacked their front and dispersed them. They were a body of men who had been detached to attack the British rear.

The British troops in possession of the ground set parties to work on the road by which the ascent would be made practicable; at the same time the seamen were engaged in bringing up cannon to the front. The wounded were sent to the ships, the killed buried. The casualties had been 58 killed, 597 wounded, making a total of 655. The force commenced to intrench itself, and tents, stores and provisions were carried from the ships. Strong pickets were also sent out to cut off communication with the town.

The three days succeeding the action passed without any movement on the part of the British. They were generally engaged in providing fascines and pickets for the prosecution of the siege. As it became necessary to appoint other brigadiers, colonels Burton, Frazer and Walsh were nominated. On the night of the 16th a redoubt was commenced about four hundred yards from the works, to protect the attack against the bastion of Saint Ursule. On the 17th much rain fell, and the works for the time were discontinued. During the afternoon a white flag appeared with proposals for a capitulation.

As the French left the field those who did not enter the city gathered on the works of the bridge on the Beauport side of the Saint Charles. They were there ordered to proceed to their quarters. A council of war was held with what officers remained, when it was resolved that the position at Beauport should be abandoned that night, and that the troops should march to Jacques Cartier.

The commandant at Quebec was de Ramezay, the son of the officer of that name mentioned in this history, who, after being governor of Three Rivers, was during twenty years governor of Montreal, until the period of his death. There were four sons, three of whom died in the service. De Ramezay entered the marine corps in 1720, consequently he had been nearly forty years actively employed. In 1745 he was in command at Nepigon; the following year he was selected to command a body of eighteen hundred men to take part in the expedition of d'Anville. In 1749 he was named major of Quebec, and in 1750 he had been appointed *lieutenant de roi* of the town.

In the memoir published by him he expresses his astonishment that this decision was arrived at; his opinion was that the enemy should have been attacked on the same day or the following morning, troops being gathered from all parts of Canada. It was the course which de Lévis endeavoured to take six days later. Whether the tents were left standing for the purpose of deceiving the enemy, or abandoned in the haste of despair, on the morning of the 14th, as they were seen from Quebec, the general belief was that the troops remained in their position: de Ramezay had no such illusions. During the 13th, after the action, he had written to de Vaudreuil, setting forth the unfortunate position in which the town was placed, asking for reinforcements of men, and a supply of food, of which the city was utterly destitute. At six o'clock he received his instructions; he was told that, in consequence of the position of the enemy above Quebec, and from the failure to remove the British force, each hour becoming stronger by intrenchments; from the check which the army had received, and from the utter want of provisions, a retreat became absolutely necessary, as the only means of saving the colony. De Ramezay was not to wait for an assault, but so soon as the want of food was felt he should send his ablest and most intelligent officer to propose terms of capitulation. A paper was appended, containing the eleven articles he should ask. De Ramezay at six o'clock received a second letter from de Vaudreuil, acknowledging the receipt of de Ramezay's two letters, in which he repeated that he was forced to retreat. A third letter was sent, in which de Vaudreuil notified de Ramezay that he was leaving that instant, not to write after that date, that he would give him news on the morrow, and bidding him "good-evening." *

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* "Comme je pars dans le moment je vous prie de ne plus m'écrire dès ce soir, je vous donnerai de mes nouvelles demain. Je vous souhaite le bon soir." Memoir, p. 24.

The only force on which de Ramezay could depend was one hundred and twenty land troops. They had arrived on the 14th, but unaccompanied by supplies. He, himself a Canadian, declares he could in no way rely on the bad militia: artisans who had never been out of the city; mostly married men and above the age of service; moreover worn out with the bad and insufficient diet, to which they had long been subjected. The hundred sailors, who were in the town, were of some use; they had, however, a bad character and had been addicted to pillage. Almost all trace of discipline in the city had disappeared and there were but few officers to aid in its re-establishment. Not a single engineer was present to conduct the defence, and the place was provided with neither provisions nor munitions of war. While the belief existed that the troops remained at Beauport the town was not without hope. When the inhabitants heard that captain Barrot, of the regiment of Béarn, had received orders to retire from the place with the good soldiers he could collect, the truth could not be concealed. There was universal depression and discouragement. It became a general outcry that they had been abandoned by the army. A public meeting was called at the house of M. Daine, the lieutenant general of police and mayor of the city: it consisted of the leading merchants, the militia officers and the principal citizens, when it was resolved that a capitulation was necessary, and that this opinion should be communicated to the governor.

The memoir in the names of the mayor, M. Daine, the royal notary and king's attorney, Panet, and Jean Tachet, the syndic of the merchants on behalf of the citizens, set forth that they had not been intimidated by a bombardment of sixty-three days, that many hours of duty and a weary service had not depressed them, and if their strength had suffered from insufficient food, the hope of conquering the enemy had revived it. The loss of their property had not affected them, and they had been insensible to all privations from the desire of preserving the city. This feeling had been sustained by the army; but, alas! it existed no longer, and they saw, with extreme sorrow, that the three-fourths of their blood which had been shed would not prevent the remaining part from becoming sacrificed to the fury of their enemies. Their only resource was to make their yoke as light as possible. They gave three reasons for this view : there was only food in the city to furnish half rations for eight days; there were no means of obtaining any further supply; and there were no troops to defend the town. Under the circumstances they were placed, no course was open to them but an honourable capitulation. The memoir concluded with "Finally preserve the little which has escaped fire. It is not disgraceful to yield when it is impossible to conquer. The citizens, sir, flatter themselves that they have proved what they say, and they hope, from your humanity, that you will not expose them to the hardships of an assault and of famine."

De Ramezay did what any one would have done in his place. He called a council of war, producing the orders of de Vaudreuil to capitulate when there was no food. It met on the 15th ; it consisted of fourteen officers.* With the exception of an officer named de Fiedmont, the vote was unanimous for an honourable capitulation. Had de Ramezay immediately acted on this decision, he would have been spared much of the calumny which has been unjustly thrown on his name. That he did not do so, he has written with some bitterness, was the only cause why he could reproach himself.

While these events were taking place, de Ramezay received a message from de Vaudreuil to the effect that he was about immediately sending food, which was to come by water ; but time passed, and none arrived. On the morning of the 17th de Ramezay sent to Beauport to gather what had been left, but the camp had already been pillaged by the *habitants*. The flour stores had been plundered and everything thrown about in disorder. It is strange to relate that in these four days the British had in no way interfered with the standing tents. Would such have been the case had Wolfe lived, or Monckton had not been helpless from a wound? Townshend, however, was now in command, and the admiral doubtless felt it did not fall within naval duty to deal with the emergency. Saint Laurent, the aide-major of de Ramezay, was sent to collect the tents to prevent them becoming a British trophy; two officers were likewise despatched to the army at Jacques Cartier to report on its condition. They returned with the information that there was little discipline and great disorder, and they formed the conclusion that there was no hope that assistance would be sent. The depression hourly increased; every night, and often in daytime desertions took place. Some of the men returned to their parishes, a few joined the army at Jacques Cartier, others deserted to the British; a sergeant even carried with him the keys of the gates. The batteries were abandoned, the weak points of the fortifications left unguarded. There were not sufficient officers to carry out the orders, for de Ramezay felt that the militia officers could not be trusted. On the 17th de Ramezay heard that a British detachment in boats was advancing to the lower town, and that ships of the line were sailing to the front of the city: at the same time a strong column was marching towards the palace-gate, by which free access to the town was attainable. De Ramezay caused the assembly to beat; an aide-de-camp returned to tell him that the militia were unwilling to fight, and shortly afterwards the officers presented themselves and declared they would not sustain an assault; that they knew his orders were in a contrary direction; that they would carry back their arms to the arsenal, so that when the British troops entered they would be found unarmed, for now they looked upon themselves as citizens, not as soldiers. In this dilemma de Ramezay, by the advice of his officers, sent out a white flag with offers to capitulate.* We learn from

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* The only name familiar at this date in Canadian life is that of de Celles; the present representative of the family is the general librarian of the house of commons at Ottawa. I will take this opportunity of thankfully acknowledging the many obligations under which Mr. de Celles has placed me during my labours on this work.

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* This statement is distinctly corroborated by Saunders, and fully vindicates the good fame of de Ramezay. Saunders relates that the attack was organized, and steps taken to carry it out. [Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., 88, p. 48.]

Townshend how the offer was received: "I sent the officer who had come out back to town, allowing them four hours to capitulate or no further treaty. He returned with terms of Capitulation which," says Townshend, "with y^e^ Admiral were considered, agreed to & signed on both sides by 8 o'clock in y^e^ Morning of y^e^ 18th instant." *

The capitulation was drawn up in French; there is no authenticated copy in English. The terms granted were that the troops should march out with the honours of war, with arms and baggage, and drums beating, with two pieces of artillery, the troops to be embarked and landed in France; the inhabitants, on laying down their arms, to retain their houses, property and privileges, and not to be molested for having carried arms; the effects of absent officers and citizens not to be touched; the inhabitants not to be obliged to abandon their homes until the conditions should be settled by the two monarchs. Article 6 as asked by de Ramezay was as follows: † "That the exercise of the catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion shall be maintained; that safeguards shall be granted to the houses of the clergy, and to the monasteries and convents, particularly to his lordship the bishop of Quebec, who, animated with zeal for religion, and charity for people of his diocese, desires to reside in it constantly, to exercise his episcopal authority in the town of Quebec freely and with that decency which his state and the sacred offices of the Roman religion require whenever he shall think proper, until the possession of Canada shall be decided by a treaty between their most Christian and Britannic Majesties." The amended condition was worded: "The free exercise of the Roman religion is granted, likewise safeguards to all religious persons, as well as to the bishop, who shall be at liberty to come and exercise, freely and with decency, the functions of his office, whenever he shall think proper, until the possession of Canada shall have been decided between their Britannic and most Christian Majesties."

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* Townshend papers, p. 326.

† N.Y. Doc., X., p. 1012.

Artillery and military stores were to be given up, the sick cared for, guards to be posted for protection of convents and churches, and permission was to be given to send intelligence to the French governor and to the minister in France.*

On the evening of the 18th the Louisbourg grenadiers and three companies of the light infantry took possession of the gates, and a force was sent to preserve order. On the morning of the 19th fifty of the artillery, with one field-piece, marched to the grand parade. The commanding officer of the force followed, to whom the keys were delivered. Captain Palliser, with a detachment of seamen, landed in the lower town, and they established themselves there. Detachments were then sent to take possession of the forts and stores. It fell to the duty of the commanding officer of the artillery "to fix the union flag of Great Britain at y^{e} most conspicuous place of the garrison." The three regiments, the 15th, 28th and 35th, marched into the town, or, as Murray states, "the ruins of it." The soldiers and seamen who had surrendered as prisoners were embarked upon the vessels to proceed to France. On the 21st, it was resolved to hold the town, and Murray was appointed governor. A form of oath of conditional allegiance was drawn up, and those who took it were permitted to depart, their names being registered.

As de Vaudreuil was retreating to Jacques Cartier on the night of the 13th with the entire force which was at Beauport, he wrote to de Lévis to join him. De Lévis was then at Montreal; on the 15th he heard of the battle and the wound of Montcalm. He immediately left, and arrived at Jacques Cartier on the 17th. The broken army of de Vaudreuil had arrived there on the evening of the 15th. The number of fugitives which de Lévis began to meet at Three Rivers prepared him for the disorder he should find. "I never saw anything," he said, "equal to their condition." Everything had been abandoned on leaving the camp at Beauport; tents, kettles and equipage. The army was in want of the most common necessaries. De Vaudreuil informed de Lévis that

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* The original text in French is given at the end of this chapter.

Quebec had not been taken, and that it still contained a strong garrison: with what truth the details I have given establish. De Lévis earnestly entreated de Vaudreuil to repair the fault which had been committed, and to march back to succour the place. It was the only means to prevent the flight to their homes of the Canadians, and the abandonment of the French cause by the Indians, and to restore the general courage and confidence. De Lévis argued that in their march they would pick up many stragglers, that the *habitants* in the neighbourhood would rejoin, that the French had a knowledge of the country which the enemy did not possess, and that they could safely approach closely to the British, and, if advisable, attack them. By these means they would prolong the siege and could send reinforcements and food. If it became necessary to evacuate the town, they could burn and destroy it, so there would be no place for the enemy to find shelter during winter. Bigot sustained de Lévis in his argument, and, with the energy and ability which he possessed, obtained subsistence for four days, so that the march could be commenced. The army started at daybreak on the 18th, the morning the town had surrendered. Its destination was Point aux Trembles, while de Bougainville, with the advance guard, was sent to cap Rouge.

A messenger had been despatched to de Ramezay, giving him information of the proposed movement: he only arrived when Joannés had started a second time with the acceptance of the conditions Townshend would grant. No written communication had been entrusted to him; his mission was to deliver a verbal message, telling de Ramezay that provisions would be sent to him, and that the army would return to occupy the town. There was nothing definite. "What hope," says de Ramezay, "could I have upon such vague assurances, when I had seen every expectation I had formed end in disappointment?" The British, moreover, were then intrenched and fortified, and were bringing into position their formidable artillery, of which the town had had such painful experience to threaten bombardment.

In order to carry out the promise of help, de Rochebaucourt, commanding the cavalry, had orders to take one hundred men, each trooper to carry, attached to his saddle, a sack of corn of the largest possible quantity. De Bougainville was to follow, convoying the provisions gathered for the relief. De Lévis relates that he wrote to the chevalier de Bernetz, an officer of some reputation, who had remained at Quebec, to sustain de Ramezay in his efforts to defend the town ; and that on his arrival at Point aux Trembles, on the 18th, he received a courier from de Rochebaucourt, that he had delivered one hundred and fourteen sacks, and had given assurance of the presence of relief, but de Ramezay had replied that it was too late, he was treating for surrender.

This account is manifestly incorrect. De Bernetz was one of those who, at the council of the 15th, advocated a capitulation, owing to the total want of provisions.* De Ramezay is careful to state the fact that the supply of food was not received until the capitulation had been signed, and that the total quantity was from eighteen to twenty sacks of mouldy biscuit. So denuded was Quebec of provisions, that one of the first duties of the British governor was to furnish the people with food in the shape of twelve hundred pounds of biscuit.† When the hospital was taken possession of, it was without provisions. In the first instance Murray declined to furnish any food, as he had only sufficient for his garrison, stating the French must provide for their own sick.‡ Bernier, who was acting as commissioner, appealed to "the well known British humanity," and finally Murray consented to give 1,000 pounds of flour and 1,000 pounds of biscuit, which were to be returned. Murray also agreed to furnish food for the sick on condition that Bigot would repay him in kind after the harvest; he would take Bigot's word that he would do so, but he must send an officer as an hostage; and if Bigot failed to keep his word, Murray would hang him. Murray undertook to allow supplies to be received at the hospital, and Bernier received a passport to proceed to de Vaudreuil to communicate these conditions.

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* "J'opine, attendu la disette des vivres qui nous manquent totalement, de capituler aux conditions d'obtenir du général Anglois la meilleure capitulation et la plus honorable." A Quebec le 15 7bre, 1759. Signé, Le chevalier de Bernetz.

† "Six boucaults [hogsheads] de biscuits pesants douze cent livres." Certificat de Perthius.

‡ The battle was witnessed from the windows of the hospital by the nuns. "The dead and dying," says the journal of the *religieuse,* "were brought into us in hundreds, many of them of our close connections. . . . Loaded with the inmates of three convents and the inhabitants of the neighbouring suburbs, which the approach of the enemy caused to fly in this direction, you may judge of our terror and confusion." She relates that after loud and repeated knocks at the door, an officer entered, keeping his guard outside. He asked for the Superior, and assured the nuns of his protection : troops were sent for that purpose. "We

Murray informed Bernier that the *habitants* who were present in Quebec could return home to gather their harvest, and what they had to sell would be paid for in current English money.

De Lévis continued his march until he joined the advance guard of de Bougainville, who informed him of the capitulation. Notwithstanding this intelligence, he advanced as far as Saint Augustin, within thirteen miles of Quebec, sending on the advance guard to cap Rouge. He remained three days in this position with his broken, dispirited, half-starved army, in no way interfered with by Townshend. The inactivity of the British force during these events furnishes a striking contrast to the continual movement and enterprise under Wolfe, and must have surprised the French. De Lévis was even able to send a detachment to Beauport, to gather what munitions of war could be found. In other respects the camp had been plundered by the *habitants*, and all that was of value to them carried away. What was left, de Lévis obtained. It was resolved to withdraw to Jacques Cartier, and there intrench the force. De Bougainville was left at Point aux Trembles, with an advance guard at cap Rouge, with instructions to

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could not," adds the *religieuse*, "without injustice, complain of the manner in which they treated us." The English general visited the hospital, and to place it in safety, a guard of thirty men was sent there. This protection was not without the "*amari aliquid*." We learn from the *religieuse* that on being relieved the guard carried off many of their blankets. "Our greatest misfortunes," adds the writer of the diary, "was to hear them talking during divine service."

harass the garrison on every opportunity and de Vaudreuil proceeded to Montreal to assume the government, and to send reinforcements to île aux Noix.

Now that the stores and supplies were landed, and the garrison which was to hold the town placed on duty, the ships with the troops not detailed for further service prepared to take their departure. Lord Colville was sent with the "Northumberland" and four ships of the line and some frigates to Halifax. A captain was named to the "Northumberland" and Colville was instructed to hoist a broad pennant and take command of the squadron. His instructions were to remain there during the winter, and at the earliest opening of the navigation reappear in the Saint Lawrence to sustain the garrison. The transports were sent off in different divisions under convoy. To admiral Holmes was assigned the duty of seeing them out of the river. Twenty cannon, ten 24-prs. and ten 12-prs. were supplied to the new garrison. The policy of attacking the French frigates above Quebec was considered; it was not the difficulty of the attempt, but the time to effect any result that was the point weighed. The French army was intrenched in the neighbourhood, and for the ships to force their way to destroy the frigates, the conclusion was formed that the enterprise would interfere with the departure of the ships. The season was now so far advanced that it was indispensable for them to sail away without further delay. The middle of October was passed, and the risk of descending the river in storms of snow and through ice was strongly felt. Saunders, with the first division of his fleet, sailed on the 18th. One of the passages in his last despatch from Quebec to the minister was: "I have not heard from general Amherst, therefore have not been able to confer with him upon any further operations this year."* Brigadier Monckton left with the remaining ships on the 26th.

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* Even when the American expedition was closed for the season, Saunders did not consider that his work was done. On his way home he met captain Philipps, in the "Juno." On speaking with the vessel he heard that the French fleet was at sea, and sir Edward Hawke was after it. Saunders immediately steered away from the course to his native land, for which he and his crew had

The inhabitants began to bring in provisions of all kinds to the town. One want they seriously felt, they were without salt, and they preferred to receive it in preference to payment of money. There was a great quantity of salt in the king's stores, and Murray divided it according to rank among the troops.

There was an extraordinary want of money. The expedition had started with an insufficient amount, a defect which Amherst had been unable to remedy; indeed, he himself suffered from the like official poverty. The military chest was so ill-furnished, that it was unable to meet the requirements of Murray. In ordinary times as governor he might have issued notes redeemable in a few months; but the French card money had so fallen in value, and was held in such detestation, that to have introduced another paper currency would have been most impolitic. Consequently a proclamation was issued calling on the friends and well-wishers of the government to lend what sums they could furnish from their private funds; money for which bills would be given on the home authorities, at six months payable with interest. £8,000 was thus obtained from the troops, the non-commissioned officers and private men of the 63rd contributing £2,000. Saunders made the same appeal to the navy, and collected £4,000.

The last service of the navy was to destroy the houses and stores at "Seven island harbour," which was a king's post, and to inflict the same chastisement at Mingan.

During the progress of the expedition public feeling in the mother country had passed through the alternations invariably called forth when any important result is unassured. There are two classes of minds: those which look upon life hopefully, those which can only contemplate disaster. As time

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so yearned, and with the "Devonshire" and "Vanguard," sailed to join Hawke in his operations. When at ile Groas on the 22nd of November, he heard that Hawke had beaten the French at Quiberon bay on the 20th: one of the most gallant actions in the naval records of England. Saunders accordingly sailed homewards, and by adverse winds was driven into Cork, finally to reach Portsmouth.

wore on, and no favourable news arrived, a foreboding ot failure took possession of many. The real difficulties of the enterprise had not been fully estimated : even Chatham could not have foreseen their magnitude. Men from New England had so confidently written and spoken of the facility of the conquest, and they had created the belief that no formidable opposition would be met. To them the power of New France was a constant threatening reality, and the destruction of its power the first element of their safety; they were thus prepared to consider as unimportant the obstacles to be overcome. A different feeling now seized the more general public, and the difficulties which had been underrated were held to be insuperable. Doubts began to be felt of Wolfe's capacity ; the very character of the expedition was assailed ; and a spirit of despondency was exercising its depressing influence. The old fears of a French invasion were renewed ; even early in July it was reported the French had landed. The victory of Minden, on the 1st of August, restored confidence. Wolfe's despatch, however, of the 2nd of September, which recorded his repulse before Beauport on the 31st of July, again depressed the public expectation. Wolfe himself gave no promising view of his own hopes, and sanguine men read in his words, as it were, a preparation for the failure of the expedition. Horace Walpole foretold its collapse.* Three days later he recorded the victory, adding that "if their [the French] army had not ammunition and spirit enough to fall again upon ours before Amherst comes up, all North America is ours."

The news reached London on the 17th of October ; the revulsion of feeling led to the greatest exultation, for the success was unlooked for. It penetrated all classes, and the sorrow for Wolfe's death was universal: mourning was worn by the poorest, and his exploit was regarded with as much astonishment as admiration. His remains were landed with all the marks of official respect, with lowered flags, minute guns, and troops with reversed arms; while a large crowd with deep emotion looked upon the ceremony. Wolfe's body was placed by the side of his father, in the vaults at Greenwich church. A vote of the house of commons unanimously prayed the king to erect a monument to his memory in Westminster abbey. His epitaph in a few words records he was "slain in the moment of victory"; but his memory is still more imperishably written in the great heart of the empire, to pass from generation to generation.

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* "You must not be surprised that we have failed at Quebec, as we certainly shall. . . . Two days ago came letters from Wolfe, despairing, as much as heroes can despair. The town is well victualled, Amherst is not arrived, and 15,000 men encamped defend it. We have lost many men by the enemy, and some of our friends,—that is, we now call our 9,000 only 7,000. How this little army will get away from a much larger, and in this season in that country, I don't guess—yes, I do."

Letters Hon. Horace Walpole. Letter CCCXLII.

The capture of Quebec proved to be the conquest of Canada; for the events of 1760 can only be considered as its consequence. The courageous attempt of de Lévis against Quebec in the early months of the year is a striking contrast to all that otherwise happened before the final surrender: but it was the enterprise of desperation, and never had a prospect of success. The death of Wolfe has embalmed his personal memory, to overshadow his genius as a soldier. Owing to his untimely fate, the early age at which he achieved his greatness, and the personal interest attached to the narrative of his life, the merit of his generalship has been lost sight of in the personal admiration of the general. There was a party in the army opposed to Wolfe, who would not acknowledge in his earnestness and capacity any title to consideration; who looked upon his selection for the position as unjust to themselves. It was a violation of the principle of routine; and they recognized no right but seniority. Their own family relationships had secured their early advancement, and it was accordingly a pretension which they could safely advance. The nobler minds, endeavouring to obtain distinction by ability and conscientiousness, were looked upon by them as intruders. The representatives of these opinions were principally found among those connected with the powerful political families, rather than with the ancient gentry of the land. Merit belongs to no particular order; envy, likewise, is to be met in every condition of life, and no human being is exempt from its malignancy. Men of the highest social, even of exalted rank, are not spared by its remorselessness. The possessors of power will never see it pass from their grasp; and they are ready by innuendo and sneer to detract from merit, wherever it may be found out of their set, often a reproach to them, or what is worse, they feel it to be an interference with their interests. Possibly no one more suffered from this adverse feeling than Wolfe. His genius enabled him to outlive and master it during his life: it is certain that no trace of its existence clings to his memory.*

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* It is painful to record the treatment which the family of Wolfe received after his death. While Pitt, in the house of commons, declared that "with a handful of men he had added an empire to English rule," and the nation, or as the epitaph strangely relates, "the king and parliament," dedicated a monument to his memory as the "commander-in-chief" on an expedition against Quebec, the conduct of the war office officials was marked by wrong and meanness, which must bring a blush on the face of every man who has a sense of national honour. In February, 1761, Wolfe's mother asked that her son's pay might be estimated, as that of a commander-in-chief. George II. had died on the preceding 25th of October, and the young king, George III., in his twenty-third year, had had but little experience in public life. The application was therefore left in the hands of the secretary of war, Lord Barrington, who opposed the claim with the narrowest of official objections. If the old king had had the determination of the matter, there is little doubt that the answer would have been different to the refusal given. It is not impossible that Barrington's correspondence with the dead general [ante, p. 155] may have crossed his mind. This discreditable want of justice of Barrington, for it was in his power to grant or refuse the demand, and the amount involved was only about £3,000, was subsequently sustained by Charles Townshend, the brother of the general who thought Wolfe's generalship was as bad as his health. In 1764, Mrs. Wolfe memorialized the king on the subject. She received a letter from the secretary of war, Welbore Ellis, written in the perfection of official littleness. "I am to inform you," we read in this document, "that his Majesty commanded me to acquaint you, that when Mr. Townshend was secretary of war, a full state of this demand was laid before him, and his decision thereon taken, which was that his Majesty did not think the General entitled to £10 a day during the expedition, and his Majesty sees no reason to alter that determination."

What would the world say, if this document, engraved in brass, was appended to Wolfe's monument in Westminster Abbey? Could any conclusion to Wolfe's immortal services be more painful? That this national disgrace exists, is

It is the duty of the modern writer to consider Wolfe as the scientific soldier. The fact of the successful landing of his army in a few hours after midnight, and before dawn, on a dark night in a rapid current, with a height to ascend looked upon as inaccessible, in the face of defenders on the summit, alone furnishes the proof that a great mind can achieve, what to a common nature is looked upon as an impossibility. That he was opposed only by a handful of men was owing to the enemy having been, by the masterly movements of the ships, diverted from the true point of attack both east and west. So that in spite of every difficulty, his small army stood dauntless in line at dawn, of the morning of the 13th of September.

I have given the history of the eleven weeks' campaign as simply as I could write it, from the feeling that it needed no extrinsic glamour ; it is the narrative of a passage in history which has become a household word in every rank of life. Few know why or for what cause ; but for nearly a century and a half the memory of it has been universally preserved, to be mentioned with exultation, untinged by any of those painful episodes which disfigure many a triumph.

The success may likewise be attributed to the harmony between the services. The memory of Saunders is entitled to the highest honour. His name must be remembered by the side of that of Wolfe, and there can be no greater praise. It was, however, Wolfe's spirit which animated the humblest men in the ranks. His goodness, chivalry and courage were on the surface in every act of his life ; there was never a thought of self. His beacon star was duty ; his guide, honour ; his principle, self-sacrifice ; his hope, the recognition that he had faithfully served his country.

The British troops on that memorable day, arrayed under his order, were sustained by the common feeling that they had to act with the manhood of their race, to fulfil the trust

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attributable to the two ministers, who are answerable for it, Barrington and Charles Townshend. Those who affect to fear the advance of liberal principles, would have difficulty in creating the belief, that such meanness and wrong were possible, with the most democratic government.

reposed in them; if need be, to die in the ranks in which they stood.

"A letter to an honourable Brigadier-General," which appeared as a pamphlet in London in 1760, remains a portion of the literature of that date. It furnishes a strong proof of the dissatisfaction felt with regard to Townshend's pretensions in England: for it is to him the letter was addressed. He is there spoken of as one whom fortune, in one short campaign, made a colonel, a general and a commander-in-chief. The original text read a "soldier," but it was changed in the *errata* to the position of rank. I cannot resist the impression that the word was in the first instance seriously written. The letter may be accepted as representative of a large section of public opinion. Townshend is called to account for signing the articles of capitulation when Monckton was present, and appointing the staff of the garrison of Quebec. Townshend is twice accused of having formally entered his protest of attacking the place; nevertheless he enjoyed all the honours of the conquest. He was told that he "had prudently quitted a Scene where Danger would have been too busy." He was arraigned for not having written "one civil Compliment to the Memory of General Wolfe" or adding even "one kind Expression of Esteem or Affection with regard to his person." The absence of this sympathy was contrasted with the mention of the memory of Prideaux at Niagara by sir William Johnson. The writer proceeds to say "That they must have known very little of the Expedition to Quebec, who expected that you would bear Testimony to the conduct of a General whose plan of Operations you had the Honour both in public and private to oppose, and against whose last desperate attempt you protested in form."

This letter has been attributed to the duke of Cumberland.

A refutation was published by some friend of Townshend: his brother Charles has been named as the author. It is but a poor production. The writer argues that Monckton was too ill to act, and that although Townshend did protest against the plan of Wolfe, it was against the policy of attacking the intrenchments.

After reading the private letter of Townshend to his wife, we must look with some suspicion on the published extract of a letter to a friend, setting forth his admiration of Wolfe. It is given as a reply, to the complaint of his silence in the despatch regarding the loss, which the nation had experienced. It may, however, have merely been the want of good taste and good feeling which led to the omission of the general's name with proper respectful mention. Townshend was one of those characters whose thoughts are selfishly confined entirely to their own interests; his cold, callous nature rarely looked beyond them. It will be fortunate for his memory if he is only remembered as the signer of the treaty of capitulation with admiral Saunders on the part of the British crown, for there is little else in his career to call for respect.

WOLFE'S MONUMENT.

The memory of both Wolfe and Montcalm has been honourably perpetuated at Quebec.

The first memorial is mentioned by Mr. Isaac Weld in his travels, published in 1799, "A voyage to Canada and the United States." [I., p. 346.] Quebec was visited by him in 1796. He tells us, "The spot where the illustrious hero breathed his last, is marked with a large stone, on which a true meridional [*sic*] is drawn." The place was also described by Lambert, in his travels, published in 1816. His remarks are important in establishing the identity of the spot. "The spot where Wolfe died I have often visited with a sort of pleasing melancholy. It is the corner of a small redoubt, which is yet visible, and was formerly distinguished by a large rock-stone, upon which, it is said, he was supported after he received the fatal wound. From this stone, strangers were frequently prompted, by their feelings, to break off a small piece, to keep as a memento of the fate of that gallant hero; but the sacrilegious hands of modern upstart innovators have removed that sacred relic, because it came within the inclosure of a certain commissary-general, who had erected what he called a pavilion, and would probably have soon planted potatoes and cabbages in the redoubt, had he not been discharged from his office by the present governor-general, for a trifling deficiency in his accounts." [Vol. I., p. 44.]

In 1835 lord Aylmer, then governor-general, erected a monument on the site, with the words:

HERE DIED
WOLFE
VICTORIOUS

The monument became dilapidated, and was attacked by tourists who annually visit Quebec, by whom, the guide books tell us, it was carried away piecemeal. In 1849 it was replaced by a column, at the cost of the officers of the army in Canada, at the instigation of sir Benjamin d'Urban, with the same inscription. Lord Aylmer also, in 1835, erected a slab to the memory of Montcalm in the Ursuline Convent, with the inscription:

Honneur
à
Montcalm
le destin en lui dérobant
La Victoire
L'a recompensé par
Une Mort Glorieuse

In November, 1827, lord Dalhousie laid, in the public garden of Quebec overlooking the river, the foundation stone of the world-famed obelisk to the memory of Wolfe and Montcalm. Both names appear with the inscription:

WOLFE MONTCALM
MORTEM VIRTUS COMMUNEM
FAMAM HISTORIA
MONUMENTUM POSTERITAS
DEDIT
A. D. 1827

The funds were gathered by a general subscription in the province of Quebec.

The articles of capitulation, as they appear on this page, are taken *verbatim*, with the abreviations from the series in the Canadian Archives [A. & W. I., vol. 88, pp. 50-54.] The perusal of these same articles as they are given in the journal of de Lévis [p. 215] and as they are placed on record by de Ramesay [Que. His. Soc. Pub., p. 20] will shew the differences between the two. They have also been published in the form of an English translation [N.Y. Doc., X., pp. 1011-13.] It may be looked upon as a matter of certainty that the articles were only drawn up in French; and accordingly reference must be had to the text in that language, when their meaning has to be determined with precision. The text which I have followed is the authenticated copy of the capitulation as given in the imperial archives, and must be regarded as unimpeachable.

Les Articles de la Capitulation de l'autre Côté ont été accordées sous les Conditions et de la Manière suivante par Mons^{r}. Chas. Saunders Admiral de l'Escadre Bleüe de la Grande Bretagne dont la Flotte est actuellement devant les Murs de Quebec dans le Bassin de la d^{te}. Ville.	Articles de Capitulation demandés par M. de Ramsay Lieuten^{t}. le Roy Commandant les haute et basse Ville de Quebec, Chevalier de l'Ordre de S^{t}. Louis à son Excellence Mons^{r}. le General des Troupes de sa Maj^{te}. Brit^{que}. qui doit être approuvé par Son Excell^{ce}. Mon^{r}. le Admiral de l'Escadre Bleüe actuellement devant Quebec.
1. La Garnison de la Ville composée des Troupes de Terre, Marines & Matelots sortiront de la Ville avec Armes & Bagages Tambour Battant, Mèches allumées avec deux pièce de Canon de France et douze coups à tirer par pièce, et sera embarquée le plus commodément possible pour être mises en France au premier Port.	Art. 1. Mons^{r}. de Ramsay demande les honneurs de la Guerre pour sa Garnison et qu'elle soit ramenée à l'Armée par le plus court Chemin avec Armes et Bagages, six pièces de Canon de fonte, deux Mortiers ou Aubuziers et douze Coups à tirer par pièce.
2. Accordé, en mettant les Armes bas.	Art. 2de. Que les habitans soient Conservées dans la possessions de leurs Maisons, Biens effets & privilèges.
3. Accordé.	Art. 3. Que les habitans ne pourront être recherchés pour avoir porté les Armes à la Défense de la Ville, attendu qu'ils y ont été forcés, et que les habitans des Colonies des deux Couronnes y servent également comme Milices.
4. Accordé.	Art. 4. Qu'il ne sera [point] touché aux effets des Officiers et habitans absens.

5.	Art. 5.
Accordé.	Que les d^{tes}. habitans ne seront point transférés ni tenus de quitter leurs maisons jusqu'à ce qu'un Traité définitif entre sa M. T. C. & S. M. B,* aye reglé leur Etat.
6.	Art. 6.
Libre exercise de la Religion Romaine Sauve-gardes accordés, à toutes personnes Religieuses et surtout à M^{r}. l'Evêque qui pourra venir exercer librement et avec décence les fonctions des son état, lorsqu'il jugera à propos, jusqu'à ce que la possession du Canada ait été décidée entre Sa Maj. Brit. et Sa Maj. T. Chrèt.	Que l'Exercice de la Religion Catholique, Apostolique & Romaine sera conservée, que l'on ordonnera des Sauvegardes aux Maisons Ecclésiastiques, Religieux et Religieuses et particulièrement à Mon^{r}. Evêque de Québec, qui, rempli de zèle pour la Religion et de sa charité pour le peuple de son Diocèse, désire y rester constamment, exercer librement et avec décence que son Etat et les Sacrés Mystères de la Religion Romaine son authorité Episcopale dans la Ville de Québec, lorsqu'il jugera à propos jusqu'à ce que la possession du Canada, soit décidée par un traité entre leurs M. T. C. & B.
7.	Art. 7.
Accordé.	Que l'Artillerie et les Munitions des guerre seront remises de bonne foy et qu'il en sera dressé un Inventaire.
8.	Art. 8.
Accordé.	Qu'il en sera usé envers les Malades, blessés, Commissaires, Aumôniers, Médecins, Chirurgiens, Apothiqaires et autres personnes employés au Service des hôpitaux conformément au Traité d'Echange 6 février 1759 convenu entre S. M. T. C. & M. B.
9.	Art. 9.
Accordé.	Qu'avant de livrer la porte & l'Entrée de la Ville aux troupes Anglais leur General voudra bien mettre quelques Soldats pour être mis en Sauve-gardes aux Eglises, Couvents & principales habitations.

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* Sa Majesté Tres Chrètienne et Sa Majesté Britannique.

10.	Art. 10.
Accordé.	Qu'il sera permis au Lieut^{t}. du Roi, Commandant dans la Ville de Québec, d'envoïer informer M^{r}. le Marq^{s}. de Vaudreuil, Gouver^{n}. Général, de la Reddition de la place ; comme aussi que ce Général pourra écrire au Ministre de France pour l'en informer.
11.	Art. 11.
Accordé.	Que la présente Capitulation sera exécutée suivante sa forme et Teneur sans qu'elle puisse être Sujette à inexécution sous prétexte, de Représailles ou d'une Inexécution de quelque Capitulation précédente.

Le present Traité à été fait & arrêté double entre nous au camp devant Quebec le 18th Septembre, 1759.

CHARLES SAUNDERS.
GEORGE TOWNSHEND.
DE RAMESAY.

BOOK XIV.

FROM THE CONQUEST OF QUEBEC, 1759, TO THE PEACE OF PARIS, 1763.

CHAPTER I.

Amherst commenced his preparations for the coming campaign of 1759 with great energy and determination. One important duty had been removed by Forbes' success on the Ohio, consequently his efforts could be concentrated on the protection of the New York frontier. The best means by which he could redeem the ill effect arising from the repulse of Abercrombie, on the 8th of July, was by driving the French from lake Champlain; a movement only preliminary to the advance upon Montreal, so that Canada would be assailed both at the east and west. The French force would thus be divided, and could be assembled in its full strength, neither at Quebec, nor on lake Champlain. Consequently, Amherst's attack of Ticonderoga formed a leading part of the plan of operations, so that wherever the attack might be directed, the difficulties would be lessened, by the imperious call on the resources of Canada in every direction.

In addition to the expedition against lake Champlain, lake Ontario equally presented claims to attention. If Oswego were to be re-established, Niagara could not, with safety, remain under French authority. This place, now strongly fortified and well garrisoned, was important from commanding the passage from lake Ontario to lake Erie; it was the source of supply of the posts on the Ohio, and formed the most convenient connection with Detroit and the Illinois. It was not, however, the only connection with the west, another route was available by the river Ottawa and lake Nipissing to lake Huron; but this fort possessed the advantage of being on the more direct line of communication and thus became the common centre of supply for the western and the Ohio posts: at the same time it was a constant threat to Oswego. Since the destruction of Cataraqui, French posts had been established at La Presentation, Ogdensburg, and on île Galops at the head of the rapids, and a combined movement was at any time possible against the British possessions on the lake.

Oswego was of the highest value to the British in every point of view, being the termination of the only route by which lake Ontario could be reached from Albany. The ascent of the Mohawk had been protected by forts, and the carrying-place, modern Rome, had been made tenable by the construction of fort Stanwix. The eastern entrance to the river, leading to lake Oneida, had been also fortified. The removal of troops and stores to Oswego had thus become practicable; but there was always the risk of its re-establishment being disputed, and the point, from which any assault was to be feared was Niagara.

Amherst determined to fortify the head of lake George, and colonel Montresor having prepared plans for the work, it was begun and carried on during the summer; one bastion was completed towards the end of September. The progress of events made its continuance no longer necessary. Montresor was, accordingly, ordered to Crown Point to assist in the re-establishment of the fort, and the work at lake George was never resumed.

In the month of February there were 12,405 troops serving in North America; some 3,300 men were required to complete the strength. The orders received from England somewhat reduced these numbers, and at the end of March, Amherst received his instructions with regard to the regiments which were to be included in the expedition against Quebec, with the information that Monckton was to command a brigade. A fortnight earlier Amherst had heard of Forbes' death,* and had designed Monckton to succeed him. As this arrangement could not now be carried out, Stanwix was sent to Pittsburg, and Monckton with Fraser's regiment was ordered to join Wolfe's expedition.

No active operations of any importance took place, except the French continued their system of *la petite guerre*, by Indian parties directed against stragglers and detachments weak in strength, or failing to observe proper caution. A corporal and four highlanders near fort Stanwix were surprised and attacked by a large party of Indians: the corporal only escaped; and there were several such instances. Caution was enforced on the soldiers of every garrison, and in the generality of cases, it was disobedience of orders which entailed the penalty of the loss of life. Amherst determined to make reprisals for these attacks; moreover, he was desirous of obtaining information of the enemy's condition. Accordingly, on the 3rd of March, Rogers was sent down lake George with a force consisting of 200 regulars, 84 rangers and 52 Indians. The engineer, who accompanied him, was enabled to make a sketch of the fort and intrenchments at Ticonderoga. He reported that the *abatis* extended for twenty-five paces in front of the breastwork. Rogers returned in a week with seven prisoners and four Indian scalps. In these affairs thirty of the enemy had been killed. Rogers' loss was two rangers, one regular and one Indian wounded. We learn how remorseless this warfare had become, when we read that two prisoners who could not keep up with the party were killed.* The New York privateers at this time were particularly active. Out of twenty-two ships which sailed from San Domingo, escorted by "Le Palmier," 74, and a frigate of 40 guns, eleven were taken, the value of these prizes amounting to £120,000.

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* The date reported by Amherst, the 11th of March, agrees with the statement of Dr. Fogo, [ante page 216]. Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., 89.1, p. 215.

In April Amherst went to Philadelphia, to determine the policy to be followed with the Indians, and obtain the passage of the supply bill. As was usual in Pennsylvania, there was a difficulty in this respect. Although the past campaign, closing with the conquest of Pittsburg, had obtained peace, and conferred protection against the assaults of the French Indians, and how much is contained in these simple words, and a large accession of territory for the enterprise of the citizens of the province had been obtained, all that Pennsylvania could recognize was "the disagreeable necessity of representing, that the teamsters were unpaid for their service, and the owners of the waggons and horses remained unsatisfied for their loss, the waggons being broken and the horses dead." They remonstrated against the mode, in which the teams had been obtained for the service of their own province; they protested against the issue of billets for the soldiers fighting their battle; and when supplies to assist in carrying on the war were asked, the house of assembly declared its readiness to grant them, but asked the governor that in "discharging the duty you owe to the best of kings and to the people of the province that immediate steps might be taken for the redress of their grievances."

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* Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., 89.1, p. 216.

It was undoubtedly to be regretted that the debts due had not been paid; a few weeks, however, had only passed since the return of the troops, and the illness and death of Forbes had added to the complication. There was possibly much private suffering from the non-payment of these obligations; but there were other modes, and certainly a more dignified and honourable manner of advancing these claims, than the threatening attitude taken by the province. The time was one of war, when every feeling of patriotism should have been called forth. To the Pennsylvanian the struggle was as much one for existence as for the possession of territory. Neglect of these obligations in previous years had caused great loss of life and property, with much suffering. The indignant frontiers-men, at one period of this crisis, needed but little incitement to march upon Philadelphia, and obtain vengeance for the neglect, by which they had suffered. The last four years had seen the abandonment of homesteads, from the inability of the province to defend its territory against the Canadian and Indian incursions. The last campaign had entirely changed the aspect of matters; nevertheless, all that the legislature could recognize was, that the wages of the teamsters were unpaid, the compensation for the broken carts and killed horses unadjusted, while complaints were made that a roof had been found for the British soldier, when many of the troops had been wounded in the struggle to assure Pennsylvanian pre-eminence.

Amherst appointed a committee to examine into and adjust the claims: naming two commissioners, he directed the legislature to select the other members. As the province hesitated to respond to his appeal for troops, he called upon the legislature to furnish the same number as were on service the previous year; otherwise he must abandon all thought of carrying on any operations in the western part of the province, and would reinforce the army to the east, with the troops intended to act in Pennsylvania.

Leaving governor Denny to urge his legislature to pass the supply bill and to vote the men, Amherst returned to fort Edward, on the Hudson. He arrived at Albany on the 3rd of May to meet sir William Johnson, who informed him that he could bring 800 Indians in the field, all of whom were desirous of attacking Niagara. It was the policy which Amherst had determined to follow; he deemed it, however, prudent to defer any expression of his views. He ordered provisions for five thousand men for three months to be sent to Schenectady by land. The supplies for fort Edward reached the fort by water. In order to assure his communications, he stationed Gage's regiment to the north of Albany; he bridged over the Hudson at fort Edward, and ordered the woods to be burned between that place and lake George.

Amherst selected Prideaux, who had arrived at New York in the "Diana" on the 7th of April, for the command of the expedition against Niagara: the force to be taken from the troops collected at the Mohawk, Abercrombie's, the 44th, Thomas Murray's, the 46th, with 2,680 New York provincials. Amherst sent notice of his intention to Stanwix at Pittsburg, asking if possible that he should co-operate in the attack. In the middle of May both Prideaux and Johnson were informed that the expedition would be undertaken, and in anticipation of the services of the Indians being required, Johnson assembled a congress of the Six Nations. Not only these tribes, but five other nations attended, and there were about five hundred men, women and children present. Johnson was enabled to report that the feeling was unanimous against the French, and that they warmly advocated the proposed attack.* On receiving his orders regarding it, Johnson asked for £3,000 sterling to meet the preliminary Indian expenses.

The operations he had resolved to undertake on lake Ontario suggested to Amherst the opportunity of becoming aggressive on the Ohio. He sent an officer to Stanwix, urging him to push forward a column to attack Venango and le Bœuf, believing that these posts would to some extent be abandoned, and that they might be taken without much effort. Stanwix expressed his readiness to co-operate in the movement as he was directed, and despatched the 1st battalion Royal Americans to aid in the siege of Niagara. He complained of his want of money, and reported the difficulty he experienced in supplying his posts, owing to his want of waggons. It took a loaded waggon twenty days to go from Carlisle to the Ohio, and ten to return empty. So a waggon could only make one load a month, he required thirteen hundred such waggons to bring the supplies he required. There were 1,600 Virginians at Pittsburg, four hundred at Loyal Hannen, and they had to be fed.

On the 20th of May Prideaux set out for his command. For a few days he established his headquarters at Schenectady, which he left on the 31st. On the day of his departure the Mohawk suddenly rose, so the *bateaux* and boats got adrift. Many were carried down the river; generally they were regained, but several went over the grand falls. At fort Edward, Amherst was endeavouring to establish discipline, which was not readily accepted by the provincials, and there was from time to time trouble with them. As desertion was becoming frequent, Amherst determined sternly to repress it. Two deserters of the regulars were hanged. Two of the Rhode Island regiment were sentenced to death for the same crime; one was, however, pardoned, in the hope that the extreme sentence in the other case would exercise its influence.

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* Johnson to Amherst, 21st April, 1759. Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 90, p. 173.

The Indians still hung about the several garrisons to inflict injuries on individual stragglers. The one object, in continuing these merciless attacks, was to keep the Indian attached to the French side. Parties were continually lurking about to destroy all whom they could safely attack. Nothing was too petty for their vengeance. In May, one man at fort Miller, who, contrary to orders, crossed the river was seized. At fort Stanwix, lieutenant Stevens and sixteen men were out unconcernedly shooting pigeons, when they were surprised by a strong party of Indians and shot down ; a volunteer officer and four men were killed, one was taken prisoner, the sergeant wounded. A party of twelve with a subaltern, coming from Stillwater, marching carelessly, never suspecting attack, were fired upon by twenty Indians ; the lieutenant and two men were killed, three were wounded, and the corporal missing. Early in June some *bateaux* men carrying guns up the Mohawk were attacked by Indians. Seven were killed, six of them scalped, one wounded, and one missing.

On forming his force to proceed against Niagara, Prideaux was instructed to increase the strength of the garrison at fort Stanwix by one hundred and fifty men ; fifty men were to be placed at the east end of lake Oneida, one hundred and fifty men at the west end of the lake, and one hundred and fifty men at the falls of the river : the whole line of communication would then be assured. After taking Niagara, Prideaux was instructed to proceed with a sufficient force and establish himself at La Galette, at the head of the rapids on the Saint Lawrence. Having obtained the necessary boats and *bateaux*, and otherwise perfected his organization, on the 1st of July he started from Oswego, leaving behind a considerable force to rebuild and re-establish the fort at that place.

The second in command was Frederick Haldimand. Having been governor-general of Canada during the troubled years of the American revolution, few men have rendered more important service to the British crown ; but his name is not recorded in any dictionary of biography. In Canada his reputation has been made the target of every shaft of malignity and ignorance, by those who, too indolent to investigate, have been ready to join, in the chorus of defamation. He is accused of arbitrary illegality in the administration of his government, as being unscrupulous, unjust, and naturally insolent. Even those who affect to treat him with consideration, describe him as a martinet, a good soldier knowing no rule but the bayonet. His character was the opposite to that of so repellant a personage. He was a man of rare administrative ability, of a generous, frank, simple nature, sustained in the most difficult positions by the desire of performing his duty. During the period of his government he acted with remarkable firmness and decision. He thoroughly repressed all sedition and every attempt at disorder, and effected his purpose without the extreme measure of hanging the disturbers of the peace. This fact alone is sufficient to obtain respect for his memory.*

Haldimand was born at Yverdun, in Switzerland. We first hear of him in a prominent position as being in command in Philadelphia. He was thence transferred to the duty of recruiting for the Royal American regiment, his headquarters being Albany. He was also detached to this duty in New England, the Carolinas, and Georgia. In 1757 he was engaged in Pennsylvania in endeavouring to protect the frontier against Indian attack. The following year he was on the staff of Abercrombie at fort Edward, but he did not join in the unfortunate expedition against Ticonderoga. He was now present with Prideaux. Amherst having given special instructions that he should be left at Oswego, he was placed in charge to carry on the works, during the period that the main expedition was absent before Niagara. His garrison consisted of some companies of the battalion of Royal Americans, and some of the New York regiments, the total strength being about one thousand men.

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* Mr. Brymner, the Canadian Archivist, was the first to vindicate Haldimand's character [Report, 1887], and it is by his researches that the main lines of his life are known. Haldimand was a collector : with great pains and labour he gathered all the papers accessible to him. These records extend from 1757 to 1765, and consist of 232 volumes. Bouquet's papers, which consist of 34 volumes, were left to Haldimand. The whole were presented to the British Museum in 1757 by Haldimand's nephew. They have been copied for the Canadian government, and the volumes are now included in the Dominion records. These papers have been calendared by Mr. Brymner with great industry and ability in a most thorough manner. They extend over 2,405 8vo. printed pages, a labour invaluable to all historical students. These papers have particularly attracted the attention of writers in the United States desirous of obtaining correct information of the period.

Haldimand took part in the operations of the war till the surrender of Montreal in 1760. He acted for some months as governor of Three Rivers, and was subsequently appointed to that position. Three years later he was transferred to Florida with the rank of brigadier. In 1773 he was nominated governor of New York. In 1778 he was appointed governor-general of Canada, which office he held until 1784. Haldimand died at Yverdun, probably in May, 1791. I briefly mention here Haldimand's subsequent career, for without this notice much of the interest attached to his name would be lost.

Haldimand, left in command at Oswego, with the duty of rebuilding the fort, proceeded to intrench himself as he was able. A large quantity of flour and pork had been brought for the subsistence of the army, as is customary, in barrels. Haldimand availed himself of this means of defence, erected a barricade of tiers of barrels.* Working parties were sent into the woods to cut the timber necessary for the construction of the fort. No particular caution was taken against surprise, and the men carried on their labours without fear of interruption: an expectation not realized.

Saint Luc de la Corne had remained on Galops island with his force, from time to time sending out parties to distress stragglers from the forts on the Mohawk. His scouts bringing him intelligence of the occupation of Oswego by the British, he resolved to surprise them, and, if possible, inflict such serious injury on the force before it was established, as to force an abandonment of the position. De la Corne had no certain knowledge of the force he had to contend against, and he undertook the expedition with ill-defined views of what he could effect, and the opposition he must encounter. His own detachment was composed of Canadian militia and Indians of about one thousand in number. He ascended the Saint Lawrence, and followed the southern shore of lake Ontario. The movement escaped detection, for the British had only *bateaux* and boats, most of which were engaged in the transport of the troops. No canoe parties were out as scouts. On the 5th of July, de la Corne landed below the fort. He was accompanied by the abbé Picquet, some of whose Indians were in the expedition. The priest accordingly had considered it his duty to be present; a feeling which accorded with his love of adventure and notoriety. If the deserters who joined the British force are to be believed, Picquet, in his exhortation to de la Corne's men, entreated them to give no quarter.

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* Pouchot, I., 298.

The working parties taken by surprise, by a volley from a concealed enemy, retreated to the intrenchment, the firing having been returned by the covering party. The French force partially surrounded the fort, remaining at some distance and carrying on a fusilade from among the cut wood. It was a harmless display of hostility. At night they retired; next morning they advanced towards the left of the intrenchment, where there were three pieces of cannon, and commenced firing from the logs. On the discharge of the guns a panic seized the French, and exclaiming that the surprise had failed, made for their boats as rapidly as possible. De la Corne had been wounded; consequently Picquet considered it a part of his clerical duty to endeavour to rally and encourage the troops to return to the attack. They would in no way listen to him, and in the rush to the lake he was thrown down, but he seized one of the men in the flight, calling out: "Save at least your chaplain." * The men regained their canoes, and rapidly paddled their way to the head of the rapids. The deserters to the British reported that they had expected no resistance, and that de la Corne had assured them there were only five hundred men present,† who would be taken by surprise and easily defeated. Besides de la Corne being wounded, one officer of the marine service was killed; six men were found dead in the woods, and it was believed many were wounded. The French retired without a scalp or a prisoner. The expedition is principally remark-

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* Pouchot, I., p. 209, translation.

† Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., 91.1, pp. 85-86.

able as being the last aggressive attempt of the French on lake Ontario. The British loss was two killed; two officers and eleven men wounded.*

Prideaux, on leaving Oswego on the 1st of July, followed the southern line of coast of lake Ontario; the distance to Niagara is about seventy miles. It would have been a navigation attended with danger to the *bateaux*, boats and canoes of which the expedition was composed, to have made the transit direct, passing far into the lake. There was another powerful motive for this proceeding. An armed schooner, "l'Iroquois," in the service of the French garrison, was constantly cruising about lake Ontario, and might have inflicted damage on the boats. As several of the *bateaux* were mounted with artillery, the fire of the schooner could have been returned. The armed vessel, nevertheless, might have proved troublesome, and that it failed to discover the expedition was fortunate for the boats composing it; the fact is even mentioned, as a matter to be blamed on the part of her captain.

The officer in command of the fort was captain Pouchot, of the regiment of Béarn, a good and experienced officer, and in other respects a man of capacity.† He had never anticipated any such attack, having relied on his relations with the Six Nations, and had felt certain that any contemplated movement would have been communicated to him. The Indians had moreover, assured him, that he had no cause for apprehension. What, to some extent, also made the expedition a surprise, was the belief that Amherst would descend the Saint Lawrence and endeavour to effect all that was attainable in one campaign, and it was greatly feared in the colony that this course would be taken. He had, however, done his best to make the fort secure, and had extended and improved the defences so far as his means permitted. The fort was situated on the spot occupied by the present building, at the corner of the western angle at the discharge of the river Niagara into lake Ontario: it was defended by bastions, with guns *en barbette*, directed towards the lake. On the land side the defences were more elaborate: they consisted of two bastions and a curtain, occupying the full extent of ground between the two waters. They had been built of casks, filled with earth, while along the lake shore, balks, fourteen inches square and fifteen feet long, had been placed side by side. The garrison consisted of 149 regulars, 183 of the colonial troops, 133 Canadian militia, 21 gunners, the whole amounting to 486 men. There were two posts connected with Niagara; one where Lewiston now stands, at the foot of the ascent, was known as the "fort du portage:" while on the height at the foot of Grand island, opposite to the mouth of the Welland river,* known, after the conquest, as Chippewa creek, a second post was established, afterwards, called fort Schlosser. It was at this point that goods were received from, or transferred to the canoes which ascended between Grand island and the main land. The first post was held by Joncaire de Chabert, a half-breed officer, with a small force.

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* Both Pouchot and de Lévis mention the panic with which the French troops were seized. De Lévis places it during the first attack [Journal, p. 189.] From the narrative of the events by Haldimand, who knew nothing of the panic, it must have taken place immediately prior to their re-embarkation.

† In 1781, at Yverdun, in Switzerland, he published a work upon the war, "Mémoires sur la dernière guerre de l'Amérique, * * * suivis d'observations dont plusieurs sont rélatives au théatre actuel de là guerre, de nouveaux détails sur les mœurs, les usages des Sauvages avec des Cartes Typographiques."

Pouchot, considering himself secure, had weakened his force by sending detachments to the Ohio. The first intelligence he heard of the landing was from a soldier, who, with two comrades in the woods shooting pigeons, had been attacked. He escaped, while the other men were seized. Pouchot, considering that it was the proceeding of some stray Indians, sent out a party of ten. As they were marching with no anticipation of danger, they found themselves surrounded. Five were taken prisoners, and two wounded; thus Pouchot, for the first time, knew that the British were upon him in force. He sent out his scouts to examine the enemy's position. He was then informed that Prideaux had established himself at what was known as the little Marsh, with a portion of the force encamped in the woods, the barges, under a guard, were drawn up on shore.

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* By proclamation of 1792 this stream was officially described as Welland river, it took some years for the name to be generally recognized.

Pouchot immediately sent orders to Joncaire de Chabert to abandon the "fort de portage," and to join him by the east side of the river, while he despatched an officer with orders to the commandants at Presqu'ile and Machault, to come to Niagara with all possible despatch, bringing what force they could gather of French and Indians. Chabert found his way to Niagara, first burning his fort as untenable. Having taken these precautions, Pouchot resolutely prepared for the defence of the place. On the afternoon of the 8th an officer appeared with a white flag; a captain of the Royal Americans. Blindfolded, he was led through the brush wood, and brought to Pouchot, to whom he gave a letter from Prideaux, to the effect that the king had appointed him governor of fort Niagara, and he was present to cause its surrender, if necessary, by force. Pouchot replied he did not understand English, and had no reply to make. However, he invited the officer to breakfast, when he said that he felt himself in a condition to defend the fortress, which he hoped Mr. Prideaux would never enter; and before making terms with him, at least he would seek an opportunity of gaining his esteem.

Prideaux proceeded to invest the place; on the 11th a battery was completed but the fire was without effect: the works had been commenced in the wrong spot. At this time many of the engineer officers of the army are represented as being ignorant and incompetent; there were, doubtless, exceptions to whom this censure did not apply. Often, however, their work was worse than useless, for it was misleading, and imposed on the troops much unnecessary severe labour. A curious scene took place in the fort on the 12th, between some Iroquois allies of the French and those on the English side, when each party endeavoured to persuade the other to abandon the cause it had embraced. A French Indian had first visited the British camp, where he had been received by a chief in Johnson's presence, who looked upon the event in the light of a jest. Pouchot was present at the interview in the fort. As might have been looked for, the meeting was without result; it had been acceded to on both sides to conciliate the Indians. All that followed was that Pouchot gave each of his visitors a loaf, as in the British camp they had only cakes cooked in a pan.

The British continued to advance their lines, but the bombs did little damage, and they themselves somewhat suffered from the fire of the besieged. On the 15th and 16th a new position was chosen, and the British commenced to fire musketry from their trenches. The ground had been selected with the design of the battery enfilading the covered way, and so obtain protection against sorties. Shells were now thrown into the fort with more effect. It rained heavily on the 16th, and the following day was foggy. The British were, therefore, enabled to push forward a battery within 780 yards of the bastion angle, the fire of which was troublesome to the defenders. On the following day the works were advanced nearly two hundred feet, and a heavy fire directed against the fort from cannon, mortars and howitzers.

An unfortunate accident happened on the 20th. A shell burst on leaving the gun, a piece of which struck brigadier Prideaux, causing instant death. Johnson consequently assumed the command and energetically urged on the works; by the 23rd an eight-gun battery was opened within 150 yards of the place.

Pouchot received a reply to his letter to the Ohio forts, written by him to summon those garrisons to his assistance, in which he was asked which was the best course to be taken to relieve him. He had replied that the enemy was divided; a detachment was guarding the canoes, and the rest of the force was on the side of the little marsh; if de Ligneris thought himself capable of successfully attacking the British in one of these positions, he should make the attempt, for should he defeat them, it would be the means of raising the siege. The reinforcements accordingly started for Niagara. In addition to the Ohio garrisons, they included several traders and Indians, gathered from Detroit and the Illinois, numbering twelve hundred men. The material was good as far as courage was considered ; but it was an irregular force without discipline, except on the side of the men sent from the garrisons. The trader's wild and reckless life taught him to be daring, and he had learned every stratagem which an Indian might practise ; generally he was without that steady, sustained courage, so necessary in an emergency.

Johnson's scouts gave him notice of the approach of this reinforcement, and he determined to intercept it on its march. He posted himself below the falls, and on the evening of the 23rd he advanced some light infantry pickets to intercept any force descending the road. During the night he marched some grenadiers and a part of the 46th to sustain the attack. The French column reached the ground about half-past nine in the morning. They were met in front by a strong body of the British and Indians. As an attempt was made to force a way through this column, an attack was made upon the flank. It proved disastrous to the French : in an hour, after great loss, they were completely routed. Many prisoners were taken, among them nine officers, including Aubry, de Ligneris, Marin, de Montigny, and de Répentigny.

The troops, scattered and broken, hurried from the field to the fort above the falls, where Rocheblave, a trader, had been left with one hundred and fifty men in charge of the canoes and *bateaux*. Many made their way to fort Presqu'ile, where they were joined by the few troops of that place and of fort Machault, who had not taken part in the expedition. De Bellaître, who from illness had been unable to be present, now assumed command. The loss in the action of those belonging to the garrisons of these places had been two hundred and fifty, mostly of the marine force. A great many of the traders from Illinois had likewise been killed, or taken. What remained, of those who had constituted the expedition, ascended lake Erie, and made their way as rapidly as possible to Detroit.

While the fight was going on west of the fort, a French sergeant, observing that the British trenches were quiet, imagined that they were so far abandoned as to be unguarded, and asked leave to make a sortie and take possession of them. Pouchot, without attaching faith to the proposition, in order not to depress the spirit of the men, granted the request, but placed the force under the command of de Villars, with strict injunctions to keep it under control. The first indication of such a movement disclosed the fact, that the trenches were manned as usual; indeed, an unusually strong force was under arms, to act as occasion would suggest.

The following day Johnson again sent a summons to surrender. The bearer of the letter was major Hervey, a son of lord Bristol. Johnson asked that his personal statement might be accepted. Hervey related the defeat of the detachment, and gave the names of the prisoners. In reply Pouchot sent captain de Cervies, of the Royal Rousillon, to the British camp. The messenger there saw the too painful evidence of the truth, and so reported to Pouchot. The intelligence had a most depressing influence on the garrison. The officers had the greatest difficulty in restraining many of the troops from abandoning the place ; there were many Germans in the colonial corps, lately sent over from France, who were exceedingly mutinous.

A council of war was held, and it was resolved to capitulate. Major Hervey, who remained in the fort during the absence of M. de Cervies, was called in by Pouchot, and the offer of capitulation was made: the garrison to march out with the honours of war, and to be sent to Montreal. Johnson, however, refused this condition.

The terms which he granted were: (1) That the garrison should march out with the honours of war to embark in boats to proceed to New York; (2) abandoning their arms, but retaining their baggage ; (3) the officers to retain their arms ; (4) the women, children, and chaplain to be sent to the first French fort, so they may proceed to Montreal, except in the case of British subjects ; (5) the sick and wounded to remain until they could support the journey ; (6) neither officer nor soldier to be subject to any act of reprisal; (7) an inventory to be made of munitions of war and artillery, ships and boats, and the men not to be separated from their officers; (9) the garrison to be protected by an escort against Indians;* (10) the employees to have the fate of the garrison; (11) the Indians not to be ill-treated.

The last clause was accompanied by the recommendation that the Indians would leave secretly.

The loss of the French during the siege was forty regulars, forty-three of the marine service, twenty-six militia; total, one hundred and nine killed and wounded: there were thirty-seven sick. The number of prisoners of all ranks, marched from Niagara to New York was six hundred and seven. This number included those that were taken at the action of the 24th of July. Forty-three cannon were ceded to the victors, from 2 to 14-prs., nineteen of which were 12-prs., with a quantity of round shot, hand grenades, intrenching tools, 15,000 lbs. of powder, 40,000 lbs. lead balls and shot, 2 cwt. matches, 43 shells, 56 muskets and 50 bbls. powder.

On the death of Prideaux, Johnson, on the assumption that he was in full command, wrote to Haldimand, calling on him to proceed to Niagara. Haldimand immediately appealed to Amherst, expressing himself astonished that Johnson should have arrogated to himself this position; for when Haldimand had been sent in the spring to the Mohawk, Johnson was only looked upon as the head of the militia. Haldimand, on the contrary, had been regarded as second in command, and had remained at Oswego at Amherst's express desire. Haldimand had, therefore, determined to proceed to Niagara and assert his rank, but, sooner than make difficulty, he would serve under Johnson. Amherst immediately replied, complimenting Haldimand on his determination to act in this spirit. Amherst heard of Prideaux's death on the 29th of July, when at Carillon; he immediately despatched Gage to take command, thus removing all complications. Gage was instructed, as soon as he could possibly do so, to take post at La Galette.

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* The 9th clause calls for special attention. The following is the full text: "La garnison sera condiulte (sic) avec un escorte jusqu'a l'endroit destiné pour son séjour. M. le General recommendra expressement à l'Escorte d'empecher que les sauvages n'approchent et n'insultent tout ce qui compose le garnison et ne la pillent; lors qu'elle quittera ses armes et s'embarquera elle aura le même soin le long de la route partout, où il pourra servi contre des Sauvages." The addition to clause 11, that the Indians should have liberty to go where they pleased is worthy preservation, "Accordé mais il est à propos qu'ils tachent à le faire en cachette."

It is plain that the garrison bore in mind the treatment received by the British garrison at William Henry. The fact can be read in the stipulation, that the escort should not allow the Indians to injure the French troops on the whole length of the route or wherever they might be. This convention was strictly carried out. Some criticism was afterwards made on the observance of this clause by Montcalm, who wrote that notwithstanding the great care of the English officers the Indians had pillaged the equipages at Niagara, to which Amherst replied that he thought the reports were without ground. Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., 91.2, pp. 271-279, October, 1759.

While fort Niagara was garrisoned by the British, the two upper forts were either destroyed or permitted to fall into ruins. Fort Schlosser * was subsequently re-established, and was held by a small party in 1761.

The loss of Niagara was the destruction of French power on lake Ontario. There alone remained to them, in the west, Detroit, the Illinois, with the unimportant posts on lake Michigan. The Ohio was as completely free from French influence as when Céloron de Bienville, in 1749, entered on its first exploration and warned off the English traders from its banks. In 1753 possession had been taken of the upper waters by Legardeur de St. Pierre, and in 1754 fort Duquesne was built. In 1758 Forbes regained fort Duquesne, for its name to be no longer heard. French occupation of the Ohio lasted scarcely six years, when it was forever swept away, and the country left open to the colonist of Pennsylvania and Virginia. The French had no longer a resting-place on the shores of lake Ontario or lake Erie; their only safe mode of reaching Detroit was by proceeding up the Ottawa and by

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* So named after a German officer of the Royal Americans, John Joseph Schlosser. He had obtained a commission in 1756, and was present as a lieutenant in Abercrombie's repulse from Ticonderoga of the 8th of July, where he was wounded. He was also at the siege of Niagara.

descending lake Huron. Fort Rouillé, at Toronto, when the capture of Niagara became known, had been destroyed. Its shattered walls and charred beams were the only mementoes of French rule on the lake; and that this spot was not occupied by the British race, was from the fact alone that it was no longer of importance.

CHAPTER II.

It was now incumbent upon Amherst to complete the organization he was himself to lead, in order to advance by lake Champlain and attack Ticonderoga and Crown Point. In one respect he found himself greatly embarrassed ; he was without money and the credit of the imperial treasury had already lost much of its prestige. From the inability to make the payment incident to every-day life, public confidence had become greatly impaired. In this emergency Amherst applied to the legislatures of New York and Pennsylvania for some assistance. He asked for a loan of £150,000 currency from the former, from the latter £50,000, "to enable His Majesty's general to pay debts contracted" and to carry on the public service.* Amherst wrote to de Lancey, then governor of New York, on the 14th of June, on the subject, and the house was specially called to consider the request. On the 26th the governor sent his message, stating the necessities of the case, the loan to be issued on bills of the province, redeemable in twelve months after date, by money obtained on bills of exchange on the imperial government. The amount was voted on the 28th of June ; the province to be kept harmless and to be indemnified from all costs, charges and damages. Amherst thanked the assembly very cordially for their loyalty to the crown and zeal for his service.

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* The York shilling was the English sixpence, accordingly there were ten shillings sterling to the pound, New York. On the other hand, four shillings were called a dollar, consequently there were two and a half dollars to the pound, New York. Thus the £150,000 currency was equal to $375,000, New York. The £50,000, Pennsylvania, appears to have been sterling money. There was the difficulty in Pennsylvania that the governor hesitated to act, as it was contrary to his instructions from the propriety to strike paper money. Both Amherst and Stanwix personally appealed to him, and undertook to represent the difficulties in which the military authorities were placed, as a reason for his proceeding without reference to the home authorities. Under these circumstances, Denny consented to disregard the restrictions imposed upon him.

Stanwix wrote to Amherst on the 20th of June "Our credit is so bad here from the people not being paid, that I have been, and am obliged to deposit money in the hands of a creditable person, to pay carriages before they set out."[*]

On the 20th of June Amherst's force left fort Edward. Posts were established between that fort and fort George,[†] at Half-way brook. Two months' provisions were taken for the expedition. The provincial troops arrived slowly and it was not until the 20th of July that the column was ready to go forward. The artillery was embarked during the night and orders were given for the tents to be struck at two o'clock. On the 21st they entered the boats at day-break and started at nine. The army was formed into four columns, the boats in each column rowing, two side by side. Gage's light infantry covered the columns in front, the boats being abreast, while Whiting's provincials were in the rear. There was no obstruction to the advance, indeed the magnitude of the force made opposition impossible. In all ranks it amounted to 11,376.[‡]

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[*] Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., 91.1, p. 75.

[†] The new fort built by Amherst on the site of the old structure, William Henry.

[‡] According to the return given [Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., 90, p. 282], the strength of Amherst's force was as follows :—

1st Battalion Royal Americans	974	
17th " late Forbes	734	
27th Inniskillings	744	
42nd Royal Highlanders	1,023	
53rd Prideaux	728	
62nd Montgomery's	960	
Gage's Light Infantry	534	
Rangers	724	
Artillery	116	
		6,537
Provincials.		
Massachusetts	1,202	
New Jersey	991	
Lyman, Connecticut	661	
Whiting, "	736	
Fitch, "	636	
Babcock, "	613	
		4,839
Total		11,376

At daybreak on the 22nd the first landing was made on the east side, within three miles of the enemy's post, and the troops advanced directly to the saw mills. The whole of the force was landed three hours later in good order, and as each regiment disembarked it drew up on the beach, and marched to the same spot. As the rangers crossed the bridge, they were met by a party of French and Indians ; the latter, however, were soon dispersed, a few prisoners were taken, and some Indians killed, whom the rangers scalped. The party advanced, and took possession of the higher ground, on which they commenced to intrench themselves. It was a hill which commanded the fort, and was held by the Massachusetts troops. From the information received from the prisoners, it was known that the French only heard of the British advance at eight o'clock in the morning, and that the report was disbelieved. The road to the intrenchment was found encumbered with trees, which were removed, and two 12-prs. and two 6-prs. were brought up to the saw mills. A party shewed themselves on the height, fired, and rapidly retired. News was brought that men were actively engaged in loading the *bateaux* and sloops which were on lake Champlain. On the morning of the 23rd the troops began their march towards the intrenchment, when the scouts reported that the enemy had abandoned their lines, only a few sentries appearing, and that some buildings in the neighbourhood of the fort had been set on fire, and were then burning : the fact that men were busy loading *bateaux* was corroborated.

As the British came upon the intrenchment, the scene of Abercrombie's repulse, it was found to be abandoned, so the troops marched onwards towards the fort. They were here received with the discharge of cannon. As the regiments took up their ground, they formed *banquettes* for protection, the enemy firing continuously and throwing shells among them. That night the British troops lay on their arms ; on the following morning they commenced the construction of the approaches. The men were, however, very fatigued, and on that day little work was done. During the night some of the

French Indians fired upon the advance posts. Contrary to orders, the light infantry discharged their muskets. The instructions had been given to receive any attack with the bayonet, and a needless alarm was given. An officer of the 17th was killed and some men were wounded. By the 25th the fascines had been made, and six 24-prs. and some 12-prs. moved to the front. Two batteries were erected ; one on the right, 400 yards from the fort, and that of the left 450 yards, with two mortar batteries. The flat bottomed boats and the whale boats were carried across the *portage* to lake Champlain with a force to prevent the retreat of the enemy. Towards the evening of this day colonel Townshend, the quartermaster-general, was killed by a cannon shot ; some few men fell, and several were wounded. As night came on the firing ceased ; on the 26th it was resumed with activity. Rogers was instructed with a party to descend to lake Champlain, and cut the boom placed across the narrow waters to the opposite shore. The French Indians continued their system of war in watching for small parties off their guard ; they attacked a few men of Wooster's Connecticut regiment, killed and scalped them ; and a party of waggoners crossing lake George, running negligently in shore without keeping watch, was seized and every man scalped. On lake Champlain the enemy's boats were extremely active, and before dark the French troops in the fort were observed getting under arms. A portion of them appeared on the glacis as if contemplating a sortie. They ceased firing, and some doubt was experienced as to what would take place, when three deserters came into the camp. They informed Amherst that the garrison was embarking to abandon the fort, and were leaving a match in the powder magazine, the fuse of which would be lighted when the last man had left, so that the walls could be blown up. Amherst offered a hundred guineas to any one of these three men who would return and point out where the fuse was, but they declined the offer ; indeed, they stated they did not know where it was laid ; it had been placed after they came out, and there was so much powder in the magazine that they did not consider the British were even safe in their encampment.

At eleven o'clock a loud explosion was heard, and the whole fort burst into a flame of fire. The French colours were seen in the blaze flying in the wind. To secure possession of them a dashing young sergeant with four men of Gage's light infantry undertook the perilous duty of rushing forward to capture them, amid the fire and smoke and the half-ruined walls. On the left of the British line a party of twenty men under a cadet was captured. Their account of themselves was, that they had been absent on particular duty, and that they must have been forgotten, for they knew nothing of the abandonment of the fort. The British learned from them, that two battalions of Berri with a detachment of the marine troops and the militia had been camped on the French line under de Bourlamaque the day the British landed, but they had at once retreated, leaving 400 men in the fort under Hébecourt. No news of Quebec could be obtained. On the 27th the fort continued to burn, when all the camp kettles were put into requisition and the entire force employed in extinguishing the flames. It was found that the two sides near the water were demolished; the other portion remained entire, the fire only having reached the upper timbers. Rogers was successful in taking two *bateaux* loaded with powder, and had towed them ashore.

Amherst encamped within the lines, and remained at Ticonderoga to fish up the sunken boats, and to take steps for the construction of vessels to contend against the French armed sloops on lake Champlain. Ticonderoga was the place where the work must be performed, for there was the sawmill, and timber could be obtained there. He also prepared to rebuild the batteries and trenches and to restore the shattered fort. On the evening of the 28th the fire was totally extinguished.

These matters systematically commenced, Amherst sent on five hundred men to Crown Point. On the 29th he heard of the death of Prideaux and of the unpleasant relations between Johnson and Haldimand. He accordingly sent Gage to take command.

The French force at Crown Point could be clearly seen from Rattlesnake mountain. Two armed sloops and a schooner still remained there. The operations were temporarily discontinued, for the rain fell so heavily on the 30th that the *bateaux* could not be forced over the *portage*.

The damage which the fort had received was now made known. There was only a part of the walls injured, and all the work of importance required was the restoration of one bastion and a part of the curtain. The glacis and covered way were still good, the casemates uninjured. Eleven excellent ovens remained standing in good condition, and they proved of the greatest use to the conquerors, for bread could be baked.

On the 1st of August the scouting party returned to report that Crown Point had been abandoned and destroyed. Another party brought in a prisoner in French uniform ; the unhappy man was recognized as a deserter, one too who had lately been pardoned : he was immediately hanged. On the evening of the 4th of August news arrived of the capitulation of Niagara. It was the day that the detachment left to take possession of Crown Point, where it arrived at two in the morning. Amherst followed and colonel Eyre was sent to trace out the lines of a fort, for the injury to the fortifications was very great. Amherst himself proceeded with his organization to continue the ascent of lake Champlain, and to force his way forward to Montreal.

Amherst, hearing of the capitulation, again urged Gage to descend the Saint Lawrence. Not only was he to take possession of La Galette, but to proceed as near to Montreal* as possible. From the Cedars he was to send across to Saint John's and Chambly to communicate with Amherst, at which place he then hoped to be.

Considering that Champlain was now a British lake, Amherst commenced a road from opposite Crown Point to the

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* 1st of August, 1759. Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 91.1, p. 141.

Connecticut river. The road ran in an easterly direction, inclining to the south ; it was directed to a place then known as No. 4, now called Charlstown.* A direct communication with the lake would thus be opened with Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Two hundred rangers were set to work on the road.

Looking upon Crown Point as the best possible position on lake Champlain for a fort, Amherst commenced its restoration. Four hundred men were set to work on the ground, and three hundred were engaged in preparing timber in the woods. The work was much impeded by rain. He also directed an exploration of Otter creek, which discharges into the east of lake Champlain. Three thousand men were set at work on the fort. Amherst, from the want of rigged vessels, hesitated to ascend the lake with sixty-four *bateaux* and whale-boats. De Bourlamaque was strongly intrenched at île aux Noix, and four vessels were constantly cruising about, one of which, "la Vigilette," manned by sailors, had ten guns. Amherst felt the necessity of constructing vessels to cope with this force. At one time he entertained the design of burning the French vessels ; he even obtained the names of the best swimmers in the force. Some boats were despatched to carry out the enterprise, but they found the French on their guard against surprise.

The events, which had taken place on lake Champlain, had entirely changed the conditions under which the fort at the head of lake George had been commenced. The abandonment of Ticonderoga and Crown Point by the French was regarded as having permanently advanced the British frontier; it was on this theory that a new line of road had been opened to New England. During the summer one portion of the fort having been completed, in itself forming a certain defence, the work was stopped, and the men ordered to Crown Point, to assist in pushing on the fortifications at that place.

Amherst wrote to Wolfe from Crown Point in August. The bearer of his communication was captain Quinton Kennedy, of the 17th, who at the same time received special instructions to enter into friendly relations with the Abenaki Indians at Saint Francis. Amherst wrote in the paper, with which Kennedy was charged, that he was on his way to conquer Canada, and promised that if the Abenakis remained neutral, he would give them his protection. The answer to this mission was to make the bearer a prisoner, and to carry him and those who accompanied him to Quebec. They consisted of captain Kennedy, lieutenant Hamilton, captain Jacobs, and four Indians. It was from Montcalm, on the 9th of September, that Amherst heard that his messenger had been taken, Montcalm adding that he would send them back with the exchanged prisoners, but by the laws of war he would be justified in not surrendering them. Amherst simply replied that he expected them to be returned. There had always been much bitterness of feeling against the Abenakis. It was they who had been the most active in the attacks when no mercy was shewn. The Indians of the sault and the mountain, to some extent, recognized the claim of kindred with the tribes on the Mohawk, and they could not always be relied upon, in the attacks of isolated spots of settlement. The Abenakis had never hesitated in wreaking the vengeance they had been sent to execute. They had ever been the most remorseless allies of the French; their past history was written in blood; their names appear in prominence in the expeditions, the whole intent of which was to destroy, or to carry away as prisoners those they surprised, in order to make settlement impossible, from the dread of being killed or forced into servitude. They were nominally christians, ministered to by jesuit priests, many of whom had been present on the commission of their enormities.

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* So spelt in Sauthier's map of 1779.

The treatment of Amherst's messenger led him to form the determination to inflict summary chastisement on the settlement of Saint Francis. The duty was entrusted to Rogers, with a party of two hundred and twenty picked men, including several volunteers from the regulars.

In order to prevent the news being carried by spies during the organization of the expedition, Rogers was described in orders as proceeding in a totally different direction.

Amherst's orders were emphatic. "Take your revenge; but don't forget that tho' those villains have dastardly and promiscuously murdered the women and children of all ages, it is my orders that no women or children are killed or hurt." *

Rogers started on the evening of the 13th of September, in whale boats. He had to advance up the lake with great caution, for de Bourlamaque's armed schooners shewed great activity, and were constantly cruising to intercept any boats or canoes. On the 5th of March, captain Williams, of the Royal regiment, with several men of the detachment, were injured by an explosion of gunpowder. With others who had fallen sick, the whole, to the number of forty, were sent back to Crown Point. Williams returned with reluctance.

On the 10th day Rogers reached Missisquoi bay, between ninety and one hundred miles north of Crown Point; he there concealed his boats. Rogers left behind him two Indians, on whom he could rely, to watch the craft, and to remain on the spot until he came back: or, in case the boats were discovered by the enemy, to follow on his track and give him information of the fact.

Rogers had not proceeded far towards the Saint Francis on the route he had selected when he was joined by the Indians, who informed him that his boats had been burned. The news much affected him. His hope of retreat was cut off and there was the loss of the provisions, taken with the boats, likewise a misadventure. He felt, moreover, the certitude of his being pursued. Even if, in an encounter, Rogers got the better, the enemy could be reinforced, while his own force would be cut off from all assistance. He resolved, accordingly, to strike directly for the Saint Francis and to anticipate his pursuers. It was a march of eighty or ninety miles, through a rough, unbroken country. He sent off lieutenant McMullen, to make his way, as best he could, to Crown Point, to report to Amherst

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* Rogers' Journal, p. 145.

the facts as they were, and to ask that provisions should be sent to the mouth of the Amonoosuc, a tributary of the Connecticut, some ninety miles above No. 4, the modern Charletown, the last settlement on the river. McMullen and his party reached Crown Point on the 3rd of October, and on the following day a party under lieutenant Stephen was despatched with the supplies required. It was not difficult to forward the provisions to this spot, for Amherst had caused a road to be cut, both from Ticonderoga and Crown Point, to No. 4. The two roads joined within twenty miles of Crown Point, whence it was continued to No. 4, a distance of between thirty and thirty-five miles. For nine days Rogers passed through marshy ground, the water most of the way being a foot deep. At night they built up their camps upon thick layers of hemlock boughs: they started before daylight and continued on their way long after dark. The tenth day they reached the river Saint Francis, about fifteen miles above the Indian town. The current was swift, the water five feet deep, fordable with caution and care. To experienced woodsmen, in one sense, it was an easy problem; the men linked arms, and, sustained by a staff in the hand, the other side was reached. After cautiously proceeding some distance, Rogers climbed a tree and discovered that he was within three miles of the doomed village. Accompanied by two of his officers, Turner and Avery, he proceeded to reconnoitre the place he was presently to surprise. He approached sufficiently near to see that the inhabitants were engaged in an orgie, dancing and yelling. It was on the 5th of October, the twenty-second day of his leaving Crown Point, that Rogers' band advanced upon the town. There were now but one hundred and forty-two men, officers included. He disposed his force to prevent escape on the right, left and centre. All were asleep. It was just the break of dawn; a rush was made upon the wigwams. Those who appeared were shot down, those asleep in their beds were killed; upwards of two hundred were slaughtered; some few endeavoured to escape, and managed to start in their canoes, but they were pursued by forty men of the party, and all were shot or drowned. "About seven the affair was over."*

Twenty women and prisoners were taken; fifteen, however, of them were immediately released. Rogers brought away two Indian boys and three girls. He set fire to all the houses except three, in which there was corn, which Rogers took for his own use. The church was plundered and burned. Rogers formed the opinion, that several who were in hiding in the village were burned, including the priest.†

Rogers' loss was one Stockbridge Indian killed, captain Ogden badly, and six men slightly, wounded. Five English captives were released by him. Six hundred scalps brought from New England were hanging as trophies from every door post, as a memento of the past and an encouragement to future triumphs in *la petite guerre*. Rogers says of the Abenakis, that to his own knowledge, within six years they had killed and carried into captivity from New England four hundred persons. In recording his success, Rogers adds that had not the boats been discovered, he would have got back without the loss of a man. The corn which was found was distributed among the men of the detachment for their subsistence; the party had become short of food, and it was all the supplies that they could obtain. From his prisoners Rogers heard that four hundred French were about four miles down the river below him, and that a party of two hundred French and fifteen Indians had gone up the river Wigwam Martina. A council of war was called, and it was determined to proceed homewards by No. 4 on the Connecticut. The detachment kept together for eight days, until near Ampara Magog‡ lake, when it was divided into small companies, with guides given to each, to assemble at the mouth of the Amonoosuc. It was thought that by these means they could better sustain themselves by hunting. Ensign Avery followed on the path of

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* It is Rogers' expression, and it is repeated by Amherst.

† Rogers does not so state in his published volume: it is the report of Amherst to Pitt, evidently on the statement of Rogers. It is plain more letters were written than Rogers subsequently published.

‡ So written by Rogers; evidently lake Memphremagog.

Rogers ; a party of the enemy came upon them, and took seven of them prisoners ; two escaped and joined Rogers ; finally Avery himself appeared. The other parties eventually arrived safely, except with one unfortunate exception, that of Dunbar and Turner. It consisted of twenty in all. None of them reappeared, so they must have been killed and taken. We know from a contemporary writer that ten prisoners were brought to the Indian village, where they were burned and tortured ; and this in the year that Quebec was taken. *

Amherst had immediately acted upon the request of Rogers in sending the supplies he asked for. The conduct of lieutenant Stephen, despatched to fulfil this duty, was so infamous as to be scarcely credible. He reached the place indicated, and after remaining there forty-eight hours and no one appearing, he took upon himself to come away, and bring back the provisions. The fellow was cashiered. It is rarely so disgraceful an act has to be recorded. As the first parties of Rogers approached, they saw the fires burning ; as they came to where the encampment had been, it was found to be deserted. The horror of the situation can be conceived. The men had undergone the greatest labour to reach this spot. They were worn out with fatigue, and for days had had scarcely sufficient food to keep life together. There was little game to be found in the place, and scarcely anything eatable to be obtained but some roots, and these only few in number. Finding the fires burning, Rogers fired guns to bring Stephen back. These guns Stephen heard, and believing that it was the enemy approaching, would not return. Rogers, with Ogden and one of the Indian boys, made a raft with great labour and descended the Connecticut in search of assistance. The second day they reached White river falls, over which the raft was nearly carried ; they all managed, however, to land. Being too weak to cut down trees, they burned them

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* "et en emmenèrent 10 prisoniers a leur village où quelques uns malgré les efforts que les Canadiens purent faire pour les sauver devinrent les victimes de la fureur des femmes sauvages." Evenements de la guerre, etc., p. 72, Hist. Soc. Quebec.

down, and by fire reduced the sticks to the proper length for the construction of a raft. This work occupied them until the third day. They followed down the stream to Wattockquilchey falls. A withe was made of hazel bushes; Ogden held it while the raft went down the falls, which extended over fifty feet. When in quiet water below, Rogers swam in and paddled the raft to land: had he failed, death was the only alternative. The next morning they floated down the stream, and meeting some men cutting wood, provisions were obtained. In two days relief reached the spot where the starving men had remained; ten days after Rogers had started to descend the stream.

Rogers subsequently reascended with other canoes and provisions, to bring back as many of his party as he could assemble. It would appear that some died of exhaustion, but no details are given. Rogers records his loss in the expedition as three officers and forty-six sergeants and privates. That is to say, but little short of one-third of the force with which he made the attack on the 5th of October.

On arriving at No. 4, Rogers despatched captain Ogden, of Schuyler's regiment, to Amherst. He arrived on the 7th of November. In the afternoon an Indian came in, stating that he had left sixteen of Rogers' party at Otter creek. Amherst immediately despatched an officer's party to their help. He returned with ten rangers and a German woman, who had been taken at the German flats, "loaded with wampum and trinkets." Amherst unmistakably expressed his satisfaction that "this nest of barbarians was now at an end." Rogers and the men with him proceeded by the road from No. 4 to Crown Point.*

As Gage considered the responsibilities of descending the

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* There is a narrative of Rogers lying in ambush for his pursuers at a height commanding the river where the town of Sherbrooke stands, in which his party is represented as deliberately firing on the advancing Indian canoes, killing nearly every man, and that an accompanying land party, on hearing the firing, coming to their tribe's assistance, meet the same fate. The affair is not mentioned by Rogers himself in the full detail given by him of this event, nor is it alluded to in contemporary documents.

Saint Lawrence to La Galette, in accordance with his instructions, he became impressed with the difficulties he had to overcome. He wrote to this effect to Amherst. Gage's after career does not suggest his fitness for a position which required capacity, readiness of resource, and moral courage. In the second rank of men he holds a respectable reputation ; he had courage, personal honour, and ability to act in ordinary occasions. Doubtless, the expedition would have exacted much exertion and forethought, and it is a question for argument if it really was practicable. Gage formed the contrary view, and so represented the case to Amherst.* Pitt towards the end of the year expressed his disappointment that the attempt had not been made. His letter to Amherst on the subject is on the verge of censure of Gage, for he asked further explanations to be sent to him.†

As the autumn was passing away, Amherst ceased to entertain any hope of continuing his advance up lake Champlain. The construction of vessels he was building went on too slowly for his impatience ; the saw-mill at Ticonderoga was constantly breaking down, and from time to time there was a deficiency of material. It became plain to him that the campaign could not be concluded before winter, and he had to accept the unpleasant conviction that it must be prolonged to the following year. The provincials were bound only to serve until the 1st of November; in this matter he did all that was possible. He applied to the legislature for an extension of their enlistment. He collected provisions in order that, with the completion of the brig, she should be placed on service. He constructed a raft eighty-four feet by twenty feet, to carry six 20-prs., so that the île aux Noix intrenchments could be vigorously assailed. Towards the end of September he had news of Wolfe up to the 4th of August, relating the progress of the siege. Later he was joined by Hutchins and Stobo, who had left Quebec with news up to the 7th of September. They were, however, without any letters from Wolfe. The vessel in which they had sailed came safely to within thirty miles of Halifax, when they were attacked by a privateer from Miramichi with four swivels, which already had taken four other vessels. Their despatches were accordingly thrown overboard. The two men had been placed on board a boat, with one day's provisions, and had made their way to Halifax, and thence to Boston. Amherst accordingly remained without knowledge of Wolfe's purpose.

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* 11th September, 1869. [Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 92.2, p. 557.] Gage wrote that to undertake the expedition he required three times the number of men he had available, and that he could not furnish La Galette with artillery and provisions without leaving Niagara ill-provided. He was himself in fear of running short of provisions, and thought that he might have to reduce the garrison of Niagara.

† Pitt to Amherst, 11th December, 1759. [N. Y. Doc., VII., p. 418.] "As you have not transmitted a copy of Brigadier General Gage's letter to you, of the 11th September, you are desired to send one by the first opportunity. In the meantime, as to the many difficulties & impossibilities which you mention, in your letter of the 22nd October, that the Brigadier found there would be in erecting a Post at La Galette before winter, I will only observe that the Brigadier's resolution to give over the thoughts of that attempt was taken on the 11th of September, a full month before you yourself judged it not too late to attempt it, with your whole army, a more difficult and dangerous navigation on the Lake Champlain, in which attempt you persevered so many days, and did not return with the Troops to Crown Point till the 21st of October."

By the 10th of October the vessels were finished. The "Duke of Cumberland" was a brigantine of six 6-prs., twelve 4-prs. and twenty swivels, with a crew of 70 seamen and 60 marines. The "Boscawen" was armed with four 6-prs., twelve 4-prs., twenty-two swivels, 60 seamen and 50 marines. The vessels started, with the troops following in *bateaux*. During the night some of the *bateaux* lost the track, and in the morning the boats containing the Royal highland regiment found themselves among the enemy's sloops at *les îles aux quatre vents*. The vessels opened fire upon them, and succeeded in taking one boat containing a lieutenant and twenty men. Major Reed, the officer in command, with the boats that escaped, returned to Crown Point. The remaining *bateaux* and small craft kept company with the sloops, and, as bad weather was experienced, they took refuge in a bay. At daybreak the French schooners came in sight. The two British vessels gave chase, with the intention of bringing them to action. They drove the French ships into a bay on the western shore; as by this time it was dark, they anchored at its mouth, and next day sent in boats in search of the enemy. Two of the French vessels had been sunk in five fathoms of water and one ran aground; the crews had escaped. Stormy weather followed, during which it was not possible for boats to navigate the lake. The nights turned cold, the lake partially freezing. A continuance of this weather made it impossible for any attempt to be made with the force at Amherst's command; accordingly on the 21st of October the troops returned to Crown Point. On the 18th Amherst heard of the surrender of Quebec through a letter from Whitmore.

Although Amherst was master of lake Champlain and there was nothing to interfere with his operations, the season was so far advanced that nothing could be attempted against île aux Noix. In winter, however, the French could rebuild their vessels and the struggle must recommence in spring. As nothing further could be attempted Amherst prepared to place the troops in winter quarters. The sick were forwarded to fort Edward: additional men were detailed to complete the road to No. 4; the Indians attached to the expedition returned to Albany; the sloops with the seamen sailed to the bay to attempt to raise the sunken French sloops, and they succeeded in bringing them to Crown Point.

The 1st of November arrived, the men had no winter clothing, so they were served with an additional ration of rum to meet the emergency. Some of the New Jersey and Massachusetts troops became "unhinged" and showed their desire to leave the camp. At the first appearance of this feeling five pickets of regulars were placed under arms, who, as Amherst puts it, "soon settled that matter." A large part of colonel Willard's regiment did desert and return home.

Preparations were now made for the discharge of the troops not composing the garrisons of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. The 10th of November was the birthday of George II. and a salute * was fired in honour of the occasion. The men were

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* It was the first occasion that a salute was fired on lake Champlain in honour

regaled with rum and spruce beer, the latter considered a specific for scurvy.

At this date we first hear of major Skene, who applied for the tract of land which he obtained, and eighteen years later exercised so unfortunate an influence on the mind of Bourgoyne. He was an applicant for the patent of a tract of land extending from South bay on lake Champlain towards fort Edward. The desire of obtaining land was indeed now becoming to be general, and a memorial was sent in by the colonels of the Massachusetts and Connecticut regiments offering to settle townships on the east of lake Champlain along the newly-opened road to No. 4 (Charletown).*

The provincial regiments commenced to return homewards. The Rhode island regiment left by the new road on the 12th of November. The Connecticut followed on the succeeding days. The New Jersey troops passed by the way of fort George. The weather had now become severe; there was a hard frost at night, and the first days of winter were present. Fitch's regiment marched on the 25th. The garrison of Crown Point was now constituted of the 27th Inniskillens and two hundred rangers. On the 25th Amherst arrived at Ticonderoga, when the remaining regiments returned home. Lyman's and Willard's followed the road to No. 4. Six companies of late Forbes', the 17th, were established at Ticonderoga. The garrison of fort George consisted of one company of the same regiment. Gage was cantoned with the troops under his command in the neighbourhood of Albany.

On December the 2nd Amherst arrived at Albany and the

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of a British monarch. The last occasion on southern lake Champlain was the 4th of June, 1774, the birthday of George III., at Ticonderoga, only fifteen years later: the fort, with its forty troops, the following May, having been taken possession of by that tricky individual, Ethan Allan, with three hundred men. On northern lake Champlain we have still the happiness of showing our devotion to British institutions in the honour we pay to the birthday of Her Majesty.

* The signers of the memorial were: Tim Ruggles; Nathan Whiting; David Wooster; E. Fitch; Abyah Willard, of Massachusetts bay and colony of Connecticut. 10th Novr., 1759. [A. & W. I., 92.1, p. 63.]

troops destined for New York were placed in sloops to descend the Hudson ; but the wind remained contrary and it was severely cold. So extreme was the temperature, that a man of the Royals and a negro were frozen to death, and three discharged rangers, attempting to descend the river, were caught in the ice and suffered the same fate. The regiments were accordingly disembarked and marched down the west side of the river until open water was found and they could proceed by schooner. On the 5th of December Amherst crossed the river from Albany, as he expresses it, to proceed on foot to New York, leaving Gage in command. He wrote from New York to Pitt, thanking the king for the favour shewn him. "I must beg," he writes, "you will put me at the king's feet with my most humble acknowledgments." *

A few days after Amherst arrived at New York Monckton, still suffering from his wound, reached that city.

It is proper to place on record that during the season a road was opened from Oswego to Stanwix and from Stanwix to Herkimer. Amherst also took possession of a large tract of land round the several forts, placing boundary stones to establish what was to be considered as garrison property, defining in this respect the rights of the crown.

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* This expression may have been in vogue in those days, but it is rarely to be met with. Hitherto Burgoyne has been looked upon as the first to use it. Amherst, however, preceded him by upwards of seventeen years. It is a translation of the German phrase, "Ich lege mich zu des Kœnigs Füssen," doubtless familiar to Amherst through his service in Germany. This expression is so contrary to the genius and character of the English language and to the British tone of thought, that it never obtained admission among our colloquialisms.

CHAPTER III.

I have stated in a previous chapter* that in August de Lévis was sent from Quebec to assume the command at Montreal and direct the defence of lake Champlain and the upper Saint Lawrence. He arrived on the 14th of August; his first care was given to gather the harvest, then ripe for the sickle.† This duty carried out, with the chevalier de Longueuil, he ascended the river to examine its defensible points. At the Cedars, he observed that the passage of the enemy might be opposed, by the church being fortified and by batteries advantageously constructed. He examined the Long Sault to the île au Chat, coming down on the southern side. On the 19th he reached île Galops, where de la Corne was established. Passing to La Presentation he landed there and at Point au Baril, and continued his journey to Frontenac. Finding twelve guns, some bullets and a quantity of iron, which had not been removed by Bradstreet, he placed the whole in his canoes and carried them away. He returned down the river, and, on reaching de la Corne's post, he directed him to fortify a small island nearer to Ogdensburg, in the southern channel. At this day it is known as Chimney island; at the period when fortified it received the name of fort Lévis.

De Lévis considered that the artillery from this island would command both sides of the river and would furnish protection to any shipping below it. Picquet was at La Presentation and as he was always striving for effect he arranged for de Lévis to be received at a council of Indian women. Nothing of significance took place; the proceeding resolved itself into a matter of compliment to de Lévis. There was a leading female orator, who informed de Lévis that they had admitted him to their tribe and had given him the name of a former great Onondaga chief, Orakouintone, the hanging sun. De Lévis had his fears that some further obligations would be entailed upon him, for they brought before him the prettiest young squaws, the most carefully adorned with vermilion. An Indian wife was not to de Lévis' taste, so thanking them for the honour they had shewn him, he promised from that moment to think of them as his brothers and sisters, and in their honour he gave the name of Orakouintone to the island.

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* Ante, p. 260.

† Ante, p. 268.

De Lévis remained examining the district until the 3rd of September, recognizing the importance of the position of the islands as the means of opposing the descent of the river. The new works were traced out by Désandroins, while Picquet with great ceremony performed mass, and blessed the new fort in the presence of his Indians and de la Corne's force. He had an eye for effect, and he readily availed himself of any opportunity by which he could gratify his taste.

De Lévis arrived at Montreal on the 5th of September. After making arrangements for the winter supplies to be sent to de la Corne, he visited île aux Noix and Chambly. He was satisfied with the care which had been taken by de Bourlamaque, and after an inspection of the fortifications he returned to Montreal, where he arrived on the 11th, to hear within forty-eight hours of the defeat at Quebec. I have described de Lévis' conduct when these unfortunate circumstances first became known to him.* They entirely changed his position in the colony; by the death of Montcalm, he was now in chief command, and he assumed the duties of that rank. It was necessary to determine the quarters to be assigned to the troops. The great body of the army was maintained at Point aux Trembles with an outpost of four hundred men, placed at the upper bridge of the river at cap Rouge. De Bougainville remained at Saint Augustin. Four days later there was a further retreat. The army was posted at Jacques Cartier, de Bougainville was removed to Point aux Trembles, and the detachment from cap Rouge to Saint

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* Ante, p. 293.

Augustin. Two regiments were stationed at Dechambeau to prevent any landing being made there. The difficulty continued of obtaining provisions. The troops lived on from day to day, and it sometimes appeared as if it would be necessary to disband the force from the want of provisions. No effort was spared to obtain food. It was likewise deemed essential to send an account of the situation of the colony to France, and appeal for help. Le Mercier was selected as the bearer of the despatch. He was to take a passage on one of the ships of the commissary. Ten of these vessels in company descended the river, and on the 22nd of November came in sight of Quebec. There was no naval force to oppose them, the last of the British fleet had left on the 26th of October, and the only opposition would be from the guns of the place. As the wind fell they retired higher up the river. On the following day some rough weather was experienced, when five of the ten ships were driven ashore. Captain Miller, of the "Racehorse," without orders from Murray, manned his boats with the design of burning these vessels. Finding one of the vessels aground on the south shore, he went on board, and passing into the cabin, lighted a fire. Some loose powder scattered about was ignited, causing the vessel to explode. Himself, the lieutenant, and forty-four men were killed; two only escaped, some sailors left in the "Racehorse" boats were also made prisoners. A small schooner had been stationed above Quebec for the purpose of making signals of the movements of the French. Emboldened by Miller's disaster, captain Canon, the officer in command of the French ships, with his boats attacked and took her. The loss of these seamen was much felt by the British, as they included many ship-carpenters. The affair is recorded by Murray as the useless sacrifice of life. Five of the French vessels sailed past the guns of Quebec uninjured, and with one exception, which ran aground, were able to reach France; five of those making the attempt were lost west of the city in the storm, having been driven ashore. Four vessels, two of which were frigates, remained in the upper part of the river and wintered at Sorel.

De Lévis' desire was to place a number of Indians near Lorette, from whence they would issue on all occasions to harass the garrison and to prevent the supply of wood being obtained. The design was impracticable from the want of food to give them. His attention was therefore directed to the possibility of attacking the Quebec garrison during winter, and he began his preparations, so that the troops would be ready to take the field when opportunity offered for the movement. As it would be difficult to defend the province should a powerful British fleet in spring take possession of Quebec, his hope lay in the early arrival of a French naval force capable of driving the British ships from the Saint Lawrence. Should no such assistance be sent, de Lévis considered that the defence should be obstinately maintained, every aid being called into requisition to prolong it. His hope was to be able to hold the colony under French rule, to however limited an extent; but if every effort proved unavailing and the French were forced to succumb, he had resolved to retreat to Louisiana. In these desperate circumstances it appeared feasible to de Lévis to attack the British garrison. The practicability of such an expedition was discussed during the winter months in Montreal ; many projects of attack were anxiously considered, and so much was said upon the subject that its success was looked upon as certain. There was one plan which promised the result hoped for, but it was attended with a risk so great, that it might make the most dauntless nature hesitate to adopt it. It was possible, under certain conditions, to surprise Quebec in the depth of winter by a forced march, to escalade the walls, to carry the works at the bayonet point, and obtain a lodgment in the town. It was a project peculiarly to demand the consideration of the character of the troops to be attacked. The British garrison was composed of young men who had been engaged in warfare for two years, sustained by the recollection of their triumphs at Louisbourg and at the conquered fortress they were holding.

The French had learned at Ticonderoga their power of endurance, and they had seen on that day how little they could count upon a panic, however unlooked for their own attack. Moreover, many asked, was it possible to come before Quebec with a large force unobserved; and success to a great extent depended on the surprise being complete. The position of the town itself added to the uncertainty: for it could be attacked on one side only, from the plains of Abraham. The probability is that, had such an attempt been made, half the assailants would have been killed, and the remainder would have been beaten off ignominiously.

After mature consideration de Lévis resolved to defer any movement until the opening of the navigation. In the meantime scaling ladders were prepared and the requirements of the expedition generally considered, the principal of which was the collection of provisions. The inhabitants of Montreal, although suffering from the general distress of the colony, had not been directly injured by the war, as was the case in the district of Quebec and to some extent at Three Rivers. They were applied to, to bring all they could furnish, and de Lévis was enabled to perfect his arrangements. He carefully considered his plan of organization and took all possible means to assure a fortunate result.

Everything that happened at Quebec was reported to Montreal. The troubles and privations which the garrison suffered, the continued sickness of the troops, and the consequent reduced number for defence, were all well known; and there was the predisposition to consider matters worse than they were. Even in November it was believed that the troops in Quebec would suffer much during the winter from being ill-lodged and imperfectly provided with firewood, and much weight was attached to the sickness which prevailed. De Lévis considered therefore that with a powerful force he could in a few days master the slender resistance which would be offered, and he resolved, as soon as the river was sufficiently

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* Major Grant's memorandum on his leave on the 15th of November. Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 92.1, p. 144.

free of ice for the boats to descend, the attempt should be made. Between the 10th and 15th of April the river became open, and steps were taken to load the vessels with stores and guns and prepare the two frigates which were to accompany the expedition. The number of troops which de Lévis had gathered together was about 7,000, of this number 3,000 were Canadian militia. They had, however, been incorporated with the other troops, and formed part of the regular battalions. It was the strength of the force selected early in April to constitute the expedition, but it was anticipated that they would be joined by a considerable number of the militia of Three Rivers and of Quebec, who, as the advance became known, would immediately attach themselves to de Lévis' force. Even those who had no arms could act as pioneers and were capable of rendering great service. Every attempt was made to awaken the national susceptibilities of the native Canadian, one of the most powerful of which was the devotion to his religious faith, and dread of interference with its profession.

The bishop of Quebec at that date was M. de Pontbriand, of an ancient Bretagne family; he had been appointed in 1741. At the commencement of July, 1759, when the siege began, he retired to Charlesbourg. After the defeat of the French, on the close of September, he proceeded to Montreal where he died on the 8th of June, 1760, at the comparatively early age of fifty-one. In the first years of the war he had issued his *Mandements* for a *Te Deum* to be sung on every French triumph, and had directed public prayers to be offered for the temporal and spiritual wants of the inhabitants. The expatriation of the Acadians furnished the occasion of a powerful religious exhortation, and he called upon the Canadians to oppose the ambitious projects of their neighbours. He described any promises made by the British as in no way to be relied on; soon they would have the grief to see introduced into the diocese where faith had always been so pure, the detestable errors of Luther and Calvin. They were engaged in the contest, not only to keep possession of their property, but to preserve their vast country from heresy, and the monstrous iniquity which heresy at each moment was bringing forth. Belle Rivière, fort Bull, the defeat of the British at Oswego, the successes at lake Sacrament, all called forth a *Te Deum*. The desolation carried into the provinces of Virginia and Pennsylvania received special mention, and processions and prayers for success were ordered from the faithful. Even the impotent attempt of de Rigaud received praise, as having led to a change in the vast project of the enemies. The destruction of fort William Henry was especially lauded and the subsequent massacre by the Indians explained away. The French nation, M. de Pontbriand declared, held in horror even the appearance of perfidy, and placed its chief glory in its fidelity to the simplest promise. One more *Te Deum* was to be sung for the success of Montcalm, of the 8th of July, 1758, at Ticonderoga, when the enemy was put to flight with the loss of 4,000 men, "while we did not lose two hundred, and while thus thanking the God of battles, let us pray for those who are dead since the commencement of the campaign." *

It was the last song of thanksgiving the churches of Canada were to chant for victory. From that date the processions were ordered to sing the penitential psalm of "*Miserere mei Deus*." *Deus refugium* was to be recited in the mass; and when the blessing of the holy sacrament was made, *Domine non secundum* was to be recited.† Special instructions were addressed to the *curés* as to their conduct if the enemy should reach their parishes. They were told that they were not to take part in the contest, to remain unarmed as the almoner on the field of battle. If the enemy obtained possession of the locality, the *curé* might take a conditional oath of fidelity, and could promise that he would do nothing directly or indirectly against the conquerors. Religious service could be conducted by the British force in the church at the hour they would select, and he could afterwards perform the mass for his own parishioners. The *curé* should avoid in preaching and in conversation everything that could irritate the authorities. M. de Pontbriand considered even the contingency of a marriage between an English protestant and a catholic : in such a case, the *curé* was to avoid in every possible way taking part in it. If forced to be present, he should only attend as a witness, and pronounce no one of the words prescribed by the church. He was positively ordered to refuse absolution to the Roman catholic who was a principal in the ceremony. On his arrival in Montreal, M. de Pontbriand prescribed the ceremonies for Montcalm and the dead who had fallen before Quebec, and on the 17th of April, before the departure of de Lévis on his expedition, prayers were again ordered; and those offering them were told, that their piety during the winter should lead them confidently to trust in the protection of heaven, for the success of the coming campaign.

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* Mandements des Eveques, p. 118.

† "Miserere mei Deus secundum magnam misericordiam tuam." Psalm L., I.

"Deus noster refugium et virtus." The first words of a well known orison in the Roman missal.

"Non secundum peccata facias nobis. Neque secundum iniquitates nostras retribuas nobis."

The first psalm forms part of the Roman Breviary or canonical office.

The latter versicle, preserved in our church service as "Deal not with us according to our sins, Neither reward us according to our iniquities," is liturgical. It is one of the invocations following the Roman litanies of the saints [Litaniæ Majores], which are chanted on the feast of Saint Mark, the Rogation days, and the opening and closing of the "forty hours adoration," &c.

CHAPTER IV.

Murray's duties in the command which he assumed at Quebec, from the first hour, were arduous and exacting. The strength of the garrison itself had been regulated by the quantity of supplies, which could be left for its maintenance, during the winter, until the arrival of the ships in spring. Few provisions could be obtained in the neighbourhood. The question resolved itself into the consideration, not of the number of men required to maintain the place, but the number which could be fed. Another important circumstance was, that the men were insufficiently clothed for the rigours of the season, and there was no possibility of supplying this want, from which inevitably they must suffer. A limited quantity of cord-wood for fuel had only been obtained, and the accommodation for the troops was imperfect and unsatisfactory. Mgr. de Pontbriand has left a description of the city after the bombardment.* It was written at Montreal after the surrender, a few months before his death. One hundred and eighty houses had been burned, and most of the others had suffered from the shot. The vaults into which the inhabitants had placed their property, had been pillaged during the siege. The cathedral had been entirely burned. The only place of the seminary habitable was the kitchen. This institution had suffered outside the city by the destruction of its property; four farms and three mills of importance had been destroyed and devastated. The church of the lower town had been demolished. The chapels of the recollets, the jesuits, and the seminary had undergone the same fate. The only spot where worship could be decently conducted was in the Ursuline chapel. The three nunneries, the ursulines, the hospital nuns and the Hôtel-Dieu, had greatly suffered. The bishop's palace was entirely destroyed. The buildings of the jesuits and recollets received much injury, but they were capable of being placed in sufficient repair to furnish quarters for the troops. The priests and the members of the orders for the most part had left the city ; a great number of the inhabitants abandoned the place, but a certain portion of them lingered behind. They were those who had no other homes, and who preferred to remain under whatever privation they might endure, to the risk of seeking an uncertain, precarious living elsewhere. It is to be feared that many of them suffered from poverty, and the difficulty of supplying their daily wants.

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* "Description imparfaite de la misère au Canada."

By the end of September, such of the French garrison as had surrendered prisoners of war were embarked on the transports for England. An oath of allegiance was tendered to the militia included in the surrender ; those accepting it, on giving up their arms, were permitted to leave for their farms. A guard, however, was placed at the gates, and nothing allowed to be taken out of the town which could be of use to the garrison. Men were set to cut cord-wood. The provisions, ammunition, supplies, and stores, with much labour, were carried to the upper town and placed in security. All the sleighs were taken by the garrison, fears having been early felt on the subject of firewood. By the end of October the fleet had sailed away, the only two vessels remaining being the sloops of war "Porcupine" and "Racehorse." Sixty-one hogsheads of wine had been found in the King's stores, and they were distributed among the officers of the garrison. The November cold was becoming trying ; the hospital nuns, in consequence, applied for wood as they could not obtain it. In the emergency the neighbouring parishes were ordered to furnish fifty cords each, for which Murray agreed to pay. At this early date, Murray, fearing that he might be attacked, sent two hundred men to take possession of, and fortify Saint Foy church. Similarly, he placed a party at Lorette, so no approach towards the city could be made without discovery. Some attempts at marauding were commenced and cattle in the neighbourhood of the gates were carried off. It was difficult to tell whether it was the work of Indians or an irregular force sent to harass the garrison. Accordingly, Murray published a manifesto warning the inhabitants against undertaking such enterprises. He also modified the regulations affecting parties leaving the town ; they were permitted to take out anything they desired except provisions, leather, soap and candles, which were beginning to be scarce. He established likewise a civil jurisdiction, and colonel Young was appointed chief judge.

The garrison began to relax in discipline ; there was much drunkenness and theft, joined to desertion. To meet the latter crime, Amherst offered five guineas to anyone taking a deserter, or who would furnish information concerning parties who incited to the crime. Drunkenness became so prevalent, that Murray withdrew the licenses he had given to some taverns, and any man made a prisoner in that condition was ordered to receive twenty lashes every morning until he gave information where he had obtained the liquor. One soldier was hanged for theft ; also a Canadian for inciting soldiers to desert, a soldier being detected in his house having taken off his uniform. One deserter was reprieved on giving the information that a priest had induced him to leave his regiment ; while one Baudoin, a priest, was banished for taking advantage of his position in the hospital, to attempt to make converts.

As early as the end of November, Murray heard that it was the intention of the French about Christmas, to make an attempt to recover Quebec. He accordingly constructed a series of block-houses to protect the fortifications. The extreme rigours of winter did not encourage the belief that a regular siege would be undertaken ; it was foreseen that if the attempt were made, it would be in the form of a *coup de main*. In order to prevent the assembly of a large force on the southern shore, Murray detached two hundred men, who established themselves at Point Lévis ; at the same time he called upon the inhabitants to take an oath of fidelity to act in accordance with the conditions of the proclamation he had published, not to take part in any movement, and the assurance was added that by so acting they would be maintained in the possession of their property, and the enjoyment of their civil rights.

The supply of wood remaining insufficient, every effort was made to obtain it. The cold was now severely felt by the imperfectly clad troops; and as marching became difficult on the frozen roads, "creepers"* were served out. Sentries were relieved every hour instead of every two hours, as was the custom. Several of the men were frost-bitten, and the utmost care was taken to guard against this casualty. Snow-shoes were obtained, and the men regularly exercised with them, so as to be able to take the field, and move easily and with regularity over the untrodden, deep snow. Murray's chief anxiety was regarding cord-wood, so the regiments were instructed themselves to obtain it, the men being allowed extra pay when engaged in cutting it and bringing it to town: while attend-the sleighs many were frost-bitten. Murray relates that from the 17th to the 24th of December, 153 of the garrison were frost-bitten, and that the whole party of captain Leslie of 200 men, sent to the south shore, except two, was similarly affected.

Murray endeavoured to regulate the markets, and to establish the price of grain, the supply and price of butchers' meat and of bread, and exerted himself to establish a system of good government, the predominant principles of which were justice and honesty. By proclamation he established a schedule of value of the current coin, French and English. The consequence was, that by the end of the year the Canadians had accepted his rule, and had returned to their occupations. From cap Rouge on the north, and from the Chaudière on the south shore, the inhabitants eastward had taken the oath of fidelity and surrendered their arms. The ordinances issued at Quebec were generally obeyed, and the parishes near the city assisted in furnishing wood, while bullocks, hay, straw and oats were brought to market. It is at this date we first meet the term Upper Canada, Murray describing the district of Montreal by that name.

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* This expression may require explanation. The winter "creeper" is a small iron frame with sharpened points placed beneath the boot and strapped to it, so that in walking the weight of the body presses the points into the ice, and the wearer obtains a perfectly firm hold, and avoids all risk of slipping. On the approach of winter, horses are similarly cared for: the two fore shoes are turned up by a strong iron spike, the "calk" of about an inch long inserted into the toe of the shoe, so that it obtains a secure grip on the ice. The hind shoe is untouched. Those who use the saddle in winter cover the stirrup with tallow, to keep it from rust, and lap the stirrup with thick cloth; the ball of the foot can with this arrangement keep its place in the stirrup, which, with the frost on the iron, would otherwise be difficult.

The reports continuing to reach Murray of the design to attack Quebec, he submitted to the engineer, major McKellar, the examination as to the best means of defence. McKellar considered the town as indefensible, and he recommended that the heights of Abraham should be fortified, and in that position the garrison should await the arrival of reinforcements. Murray took the best means of meeting the emergency by placing the ammunition in secure positions; and summoning the commanding officers of regiments, he discussed with them his dispositions for defence. Later, in February Murray obtained intelligence that some of the French were assembling at Point Lévis. He determined to send an additional force to the south shore, and in consequence he was desirous of obtaining an increased supply of snow-shoes. He was only partially successful. The party sent by him made the fact plain, that a considerable French force had established itself there; and as the ice had taken, so Murray despatched a body of troops across the river to attack it. On the arrival of the British, the French retired to the woods, leaving behind as prisoners one officer and eleven men. Murray took possession of the church, placing within it a force of 200 men. He sent also for the captains of militia, from whom he learned that a commissary from Montreal had visited them, and had ordered cattle to be killed and corn to be brought. They stated that they had slaughtered but few, and had ceased to collect provisions, on learning that the French had been driven back. Murray had reason to discredit their statement, and ordered them to bring to Quebec whatever had been killed by them, for which payment would be made. The enemy still hung about the place, and a small body of the British fell into an ambuscade, when eight men were killed and taken. Shortly afterwards Murray received information that 700 men had crossed at Pointe aux Trembles with the intention of seizing the British post at Point Lévis. Murray with a strong force crossed the river to prevent the movement, upon which the French retreated, with a loss of from fifteen to twenty prisoners. Murray learned from the latter that the force had consisted of 500 regulars, 400 of the militia and some Indians. On satisfying himself of the fact, that the French detachment had been concealed within six miles of the British post, without information having been given of its presence, Murray, as a punishment, burned the houses where the troops had found refuge. Everything that took place, and all the reports that reached Quebec, pointed to the certainty that the garrison would be attacked so soon as the weather permitted. Murray consequently commenced with vigour the preparation of pickets and fascines for fortifying the plains. With this design he ordered the adjoining parishes to make 10,000 fascines and 40,000 pickets.

One source of painful consideration with Murray had been the continual sickness of the garrison. It may be accounted for by the men being insufficiently clothed to meet the severity of winter, and the nature of their diet, which may be described as almost entirely consisting of salt pork and beef. The garrison nominally consisted of 7,000 men; of this number on the 1st of January, 1760, 4,359 rank and file only were fit for duty.*

Another extraordinary neglect of the secretary of war, lord Barrington, was that there was no money to pay the men.

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* The state of the 24th December, 1760, gives:

Officers present	329
Non-commissioned officers	348
Drummers	185
Rank and file fit for duty	4,138
Sick, &c	1,407
Total number, all ranks constituting garrison	6,407

They were unable to supplement their mess by better food,* and how they escaped so well as they did, must be a matter of historical thankfulness.

Everything possible had been done by Saunders and the fleet; the fault lay with the home authorities, in failing to provide for the contingency of the winter campaign, for the necessary warm clothing, and the requirements for holding the conquered city. All these wants must have been well known by the experience of the garrisons of Louisbourg and Halifax. The clothing and provisions could have been stored at one of the garrisons, and a supply of money sent there, had any prescience or care for the future been exercised. It is on the memory of lord Barrington, as secretary of war, that the discredit must lie.

Murray endeavoured in this painful situation to perform his duty as best he was able. He relates how an effort was made

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In addition to the above the following were on the strength, but absent, as detailed:

Sick sent to New York	670
On command in Canada	542
On command in New York	538
On furlough	36
	1,786

The ill-health of the garrison during the winter months is established by the fact that the mortality increased as the season advanced. The deaths recorded are:

Ending	24th October	50
"	24th November	43
"	24th December	63
"	24th January	96
"	24th February	92
"	24th March	166
"	24th April	149
	Total	659

* This disgraceful fact is incontrovertible. It is made on the authority of a letter from Murray to Pitt from Contrecœur, nine leagues above Montreal, 24th August, 1760. [Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 99, p. 151.] Murray distinctly states that the men had no pay since the 24th of October of the previous year, and that he had only received £20,000 two months back. With every temptation to issue a paper currency, Murray would not do so. The wonder is, how without money he got through the winter.

to prevent the sickness * from spreading. The disease was the scurvy, and instructions were given as to the best mode of boiling and preparing the salt pork, it being impossible to obtain fresh provisions or vegetables. There was also an insufficiency of blankets ; an additional supply, however, was fortunately obtained from the *habitants*. As Murray had no money, all he could do was to pledge his word on the arrival of the shipping to pay for them, or return them.

As the French continued to send forward parties to threaten the outposts, Murray himself entertained the desire to be aggressive, but the sickly condition of the garrison deterred him from the attempt. He, however, constructed two block-houses at Point Lévis to cover any landing he might attempt, and placed a guard in them of sufficient strength to defend them. He resolved under any circumstances to attack the French advance posts on the north side, and with this view he increased his own outposts of Saint Foy and Lorette. On the morning of the 20th two parties attacked at the same hour the two posts of Calvary and Brulé, the former making seventy and the latter seventeen prisoners, without the loss of a man, and with only six wounded. Many, however, suffered from frost-bite.

Towards the end of March, the oft reported designs of the French against the garrison began to take definite form. Everything suggested that an attack would be made when the ships could descend the river. The French vessels had wintered in the Richelieu, near Sorel : workmen were now engaged in repairing and placing them in readiness. The regiment of Languedoc was moved from Pointe aux Trembles to Saint Augustin. As reports of an intended expedition, in great force, promising certain success, were freely circulated among the French inhabitants in the neighborhood, to shake their faith in the stability of Murray's position, and to alienate them from the recognition they had made of his government, Amherst conceived a stratagem to counteract them. He sent a sergeant and four rangers stealthily across the river and they appeared before the outposts declaring that they had arrived from Amherst. The news ran rapidly through the town and was believed, and "visibly affected the French inhabitants." In order to give greater effect to the impression which had been made, Murray published a proclamation, promising that if they were quiet and orderly and took no part in the contest they would be maintained in possession of their property, in the practice of their religion and in their civil rights, while the communities should continue to enjoy their privileges ; on the other hand, the most severe reprisals were threatened to those who acted otherwise.

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* Journal, 9th March.

Major McKellar, the chief engineer, was despatched to cap Rouge, to take post there and fortify the place, so that the attempt on the part of the French to land could be resisted. The hulls enclosed within the ice of the river Saint Charles were cut out and fitted up as floating batteries. The schooner "Lawrence" was brought up from the island of Orleans, caulked and made ready for sea, to communicate with lord Colville, whose arrival with the relief was looked for. She was despatched on the 21st of April with the intelligence how matters stood, so that no time would be lost by Colville's squadron in ascending the river.

On the 17th Murray heard that the French had armed the vessels which had remained in the river with the two new galleys they had lately built ; that the expedition would start without delay, with the design of landing the troops at cap Rouge. Additional fortifications were added to make the disembarkation of artillery at cap Rouge impracticable, so the guns would have to be brought forward by land. On the 19th a party under Herbin crossed the cap Rouge on the ice with sixty men and some Indians to surprise the outposts, but the garrison was on the alert, and Herbin's force was dispersed with loss. The British crossed the river and even pursued the retreating French, when they "ran for it."

The conclusion was forced on Murray's mind that the attack would not much longer be deferred ; consequently, he ordered all the Canadians to leave the town ; this order was issued on the 21st, a week before the attack was made. The *religieuses* of the convents were permitted to remain. The inhabitants were directed to store the articles which they could not take away with them in the convent of the recollets, under the care of the community and two inhabitants of the town, selected by themselves. A guard was placed to prevent interference with the property. Orders were given to each regiment to have a picket in readiness in case of necessity, and preparations were generally taken to defend the place. The party from Lorette was called in and posted with that of Saint Foy, and the bridges across the cap Rouge destroyed.

These facts require to be borne in mind when the story I have to relate has to be considered. It has received general credence, but by the facts I have given it is proved to be without foundation.

On the authority of de Lévis, it is related that one of the *bateaux* with the artillery being crushed by the ice at cap Rouge on the evening of the 26th, a gunner saved himself on a mass of floating ice and was carried past Quebec on the morning of the 27th. He was seen and rescued, and by his presence the English were informed by him of the march of the French by old Lorette.*

This piece of romance is fully disproved by Murray's diary. Were there the slightest basis of truth in it, Murray would have had twenty-four hours only to make his dispositions for defence, whereas a week earlier he had ordered the Canadian population out of the town.

On the 23rd the ice gave way and the river became navigable. Murray determined to march five regiments to Saint Foy to be in position to sustain the advance posts and to resist any landing of the enemy; but the weather was against the proceeding. It froze hard during the night, and such was the sickly condition of the garrison that he would not unnecessarily expose the men to hardship and privation. Murray now resolved to encamp himself on the plains of Abraham. The fascines were prepared and pickets provided, and on the 26th McKellar marked out the camp; but the ground was frozen, and the pickets could not be sunk in position.

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* [Journal, p. 262.] The story is repeated in the "Campaign of 1760 in Canada," attributed to the chevalier Johnstone [Hist. Soc. Que., p. 9], with the addition, "this humane action of the English in saving the unhappy cannoneer saved Quebec from being taken by surprise."

De Lévis had at this time begun his advance. The first division under de Bourlamaque left Montreal on the 20th of April, de Lévis on the following day. The vessels in which the troops were embarked reached Pointe aux Trembles on the 25th and 26th. They were now thirty-two miles from Quebec, and de la Pause was sent forward to examine the river bank in order to judge how far it would be possible to continue the descent by water. De la Pause reported that the whole line of the river from cap Rouge to Quebec was so well fortified that it was not advisable to make any attempt to land. De Lévis therefore resolved to march by land from Pointe aux Trembles, to cross the cap Rouge river five miles above its mouth, and passing through Old Lorette reach the heights at Saint Foy.

It rained on Sunday, the 27th, and at three in the morning Murray heard that the French had landed at Pointe aux Trembles and had marched to Lorette. Seven vessels were accompanying the force. Upon this intelligence Murray proceeded to Saint Foy with a small detachment consisting of the 15th regiment, the grenadiers, some pickets and two field pieces. Three regiments under colonel Walsh covered his retreat, and the 35th took post at Sillery. On reaching the ground Murray found the French advance posts in possession of the country from Lorette to Saint Foy, and were evidently preparing to possess themselves of the plains. Murray took up a position to receive an attack, the object of which would be to drive him from his ground, but the movement was not made. The numbers of the French appeared to be rapidly increasing; and while Murray was in this position he heard that two French ships had appeared at the *traverse*. Accordingly with the entire force he withdrew within the walls. The roads were in an exceedingly bad condition. Being unable to remove two 18-prs., he knocked the trunnions off and left them behind, and as from the want of horses and vehicles he could not bring away the provisions and ammunition which were in the church, he blew them up.

The Canadian militia hung upon his march but failed to incommode him. Orders were sent to Point Lévis for the post to be abandoned, the guns to be spiked, the block-houses burned and what provisions could not be brought away, to be destroyed.

Murray had now to determine the course he would pursue. Those who consider Murray's conduct on this occasion and that of his opponent, de Lévis, must bear in mind the season of the year when the event took place: it was the 28th of April, winter was breaking up, the ground was still frozen over, the nights severely cold. When the heat of the mid-day sun thawed the surface of the snow it remained in pools on the frozen ground, icy cold, or penetrated the snow to render it moist and soft, in which the foot would sink ankle deep. No time of the year is more trying, owing to the damp and penetrating snow-water. The colder months of January and February, when the wind is sharp, threatens one imperfectly dressed with frost-bite, but the temperature is dry and healthy, and to a young, active man, it brings no suffering. On the break up of winter, the necessity of passing through the pools of semi-thawed water, without proper protection to the feet, is trying to strong constitutions. On both sides, consequently, great privations were undergone, and the continuance of the campaign was a prolongation of this severe tax on strength and health.

Murray found that ten days were at least required to construct the intrenchments. Even had this time been available the season prevented the work being undertaken; there was likewise the necessity of moving the guns, ammunition and provisions within the lines. The garrison, small in number, was suffering from the common sickness, and the duty of guarding both the town and the proposed intrenchments would have been beyond its strength: on the other hand, Murray had full confidence in his men, they were inured to privation, they had proved their steadiness in the hour of danger, and they possessed the prestige which victory confers. Viewing his situation in all its bearing, Murray determined that on the following morning, he would march out and attack de Lévis before his force could be established in position.

At seven o'clock, on Monday, the 28th of April, Murray marched out of the town with his small force, in two columns. On reaching the ground where he resolved to take his position he formed the right, under colonel Burton, viz., Amherst's 15th, Webb's 48th, Anstruther's 58th and 2nd battalion of Royal Americans, Monckton's 60th. The left was commanded by colonel Fraser; it consisted of Bragg's 28th, Kennedy's 43rd, Lascelle's 47th and Fraser's 78th. The reserve was under the command of colonel Young, viz., Otway's 35th and 3rd battalion Royal Americans, Lawrence's 60th. The right flank was covered by the light infantry, the left by some rangers and a company of volunteers. There were about 3,000 men on the ground in all. Each battalion had two guns.

As Murray was taking up his position, he observed that the French had commenced to throw up redoubts and that the main body was on the march. Considering the time favourable he gave the order to attack. The French, driven from their works, abandoned them, and major Dalling, at the head of the light infantry, forced a body of French grenadiers from a house, of which they had taken possession, and drove them back to the second line. A strong force came up to sustain the grenadiers, and the light infantry were broken and dispersed along the front of the right flank. In this movement they interfered with the operations of Burton. They were ordered to reform and regain the right, when they were again charged and driven back in such confusion, as not to be able to take further part in the action. Otway's battalion was now advanced to cover the right flank, and the movement was successfully made. During this time the left had advanced and taken possession of two redoubts, but overpowered by large numbers it gave way. Murray sent up Kennedy's and the 3rd battalion Royal Americans as a support. It was too late, they were powerless to check the disorder. This failure of the left to hold its ground was followed by the abandonment of the position on the right, and the whole line retreated. A warm fire of musketry was kept up against the French from the block-houses, and to some extent checked their advance; the guns, however, had to be abandoned. There was no serious attempt to interfere with the retirement of the British within the walls of the town. The loss of the British force in the action was 283 killed, 841 wounded, being a total of 1,124, more than a third of the force which stood in rank in the order of battle.[*] The action lasted an hour and three-quarters.

The French brought into the field upwards of ten thousand men, with an additional force of Indians. Their loss was 2,000 men *hors de combat*.

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[*] I follow here the number given by Murray in his official report to Pitt of the 25th May, 1760. [Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 99, p. 29.] "Half an hour after six the next morning we marched with all the force I could muster, viz., Three thousand men." In Murray's report to Amherst of the 30th of April [Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 99], he describes his loss "as one-third of the men under arms." He continues: "I have certain intelligence the enemy had not less than 10,000 in the field."

Regiment.		Colonel.	Lt.-Colonel.	Major.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Adjutants.	Masters, Surgeons & Mates.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.	Total.
15th,	Amherst's	..	..	1	1	14	8	..	..	25	12	325	386
28th,	Townshend's	..	1	..	3	6	7	..	..	18	11	274	320
35th,	Otway's	..	..	1	6	9	7	1	2	21	11	285	343
43rd,	Kennedy's	..	1	..	6	4	7	1	1	17	8	169	214
47th,	Lascelles'	..	..	1	2	11	5	..	..	30	..	264	313
48th,	Webb's	..	1	..	5	12	5	..	..	29	14	307	373
58th,	Anstruther's	..	..	1	3	9	3	..	1	18	14	277	326
60th, 2nd Batt.,	Murray's	1	..	..	4	9	5	1	3	16	6	191	236
3rd Batt.,	Lawrence's	..	1	..	4	9	5	1	3	23	6	232	284
78th,	Fraser's	..	1	..	6	18	10	1	3	30	14	370	453
Light Infantry		..	..	1	4	13	10	..	..	27	11	339	405
Rangers, Capt. Hay		..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	4	..	78	84
		1	5	5	45	115	72	5	13	258	107	3111	3737
Royal Artillery		..	..	1	2	10	..	..	..	2	6	108	129
Total		1	5	6	47	125	72	5	13	260	113	3219	3866

The above number includes the whole force of the garrison on duty on that day. In order to obtain the strength of the troops formed in line in the field, The French vessels advanced to the anse au Foulon, the point where Wolfe landed, and commenced the discharge of

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deductions have to be made of the guard left within the walls and of the detachments placed in the block-houses.

The detail of the killed and wounded is thus given :—

	Killed.			Wounded.		
	Officers.	Sergeants & Drummers.	Rank & File.	Officers.	Sergeants & Drummers.	Rank & File.
Amherst's	1	4	23	12	9	84
Bragg's	..	1	14	10	7	100
Otway's	..	..	21	3	4	45
Kennedy's	..	..	5	2	..	18
Lascelles'	1	1	10	8	4	43
Webb's	...	..	24	9	..	66
Anstruther's	1	1	8	..	3	46
Monckton's	..	1	2	2	..	10
Lawrence	..	1	10	9	..	32
Fraser's	1	4	61	26	10	121
Light Infantry	..	8	78	1	8	124
Rangers	..	..	2	..	..	9
Engineers	..	..	..	1	..	..
Artillery	..	..	..	4	..	11
	4	21	258	87	45	709

On the subject of the strength of the French army, we have the state given by de Lévis on the 17th of April [Journal, p. 257]. He speaks of these forces as destined for the campaign [destinée à cette expédition].

Brigade.	Régiments.	Officiers.	Soldats.	Milliciens compris eurs officiers.	Total.	Soldats négres.	Domestiques.	Chirurgiens.	Tot. des non combat.	Total à nourir non compris état major.
La Reine	La Reine	27	370	223	620	10	27	1	38	658
	Languedoc	14	280	285	579	..	14	1	15	594
La Sarre	La Sarre	24	339	230	593	..	21	1	22	615
	Béarn	24	371	221	616	5	27	1	33	646
Royal Rousillon	Royal Rousillon.	24	305	279	608	4	8	1	13	621
	Guyenne	22	320	261	603	5	23	1	29	632
Berry	2 bat. de Berry	51	727	519	1,297	9	50	2	61	1,358
La Marine	2 bat. de la Marine	80	898	246	1,224	..	75	4	79	1,303
Troupes hors de la ligne	Cavalerie	5	...	200	205	.	2	1	3	208
	Sauvages	8	...	270	278	...	..	..	..	278
	Bat. de la Millice de Montréal	..	...	287	287		57	3	59	347
Totaux		279	3,610	3,021	6,910	33	307	16	352	7,260

He adds, that independently of this number, it is expected that the inhabitants artillery and stores. A contemporary writer tells us* that de Lévis issued a proclamation calling upon the *habitants* of the district of Quebec to join him. Many represented that it was unjust in the position in which they were placed to exact that they should take arms, for forced by the conditions of conquest they had taken an oath of fidelity† to England, and that they would be punished if they ceased to remember that they had done so. De Lévis left to each person, to act as he saw fit in joining the ranks as a combatant, but he forced all to work in unloading the ships and in forming the intrenchments.

The duty of conducting the siege had been assigned to de Bourlamaque. He had been in command of the advance guard, and was seriously wounded by a cannon shot in the leg; he directed the operations from his tent, but the want of his presence was much felt. The works were commenced, and on the 29th the first parallel was formed within six hundred yards of the town. Murray made his preparations for defence. He had previously broken up the roads leading to the town. He closed the gates; cut embrasures in the curtains; the sick were placed in the convents; the women were ordered to cook the food and attend the sick; so that every fighting man could be on duty. As cases of drunkenness became apparent, he ordered the liquor to be spilled; and as some of the men commenced acts of outrage and robbery, two soldiers caught in the act of crime were hanged: one of those examples often so painfully

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of the government of Quebec will join, when the place is invested. He gives the list of the killed and wounded, including the militia, as 193 killed, 640 wounded, being a total of 833. No account is rendered of any other division of the force.

The writer of the campaign of 1760 in Canada, generally supposed to be chevalier Johnstone, describes the loss as 2,000 killed and wounded, so that the French might say with Pyrrhus, the day of his victory over the Romans, "again such another victory and I would be undone." [p. 14.]

* Mémoire sur la Guerre, p. 182.

† The form of oath has been preserved. [Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 91.2, p. 539.] Holding up right hand: "Je promets et je jure devant Dieu solemnellement que je serai fidèle à sa Majesté Brittanique le roi George second, que je ne prendrai point les armes contre lui et que je ne donnerai aucune avertissement à ses ennemies qui lui puisse en aucune manière nuire."

necessary to enforce discipline. Fresh guns were mounted, and small parties were organized to make nightly sorties to harass the French works.

On the 1st of May, Murray determined to send the "Racehorse," captain Macartney, with a letter to Amherst, acquainting him with his situation. Owing to the continual north west wind, the vessel made a rapid passage, reaching Halifax in ten days. The despatch was addressed to Amherst, as commanding-in-chief, but on hearing from Macartney the situation of Murray, Lawrence, who was in command in Nova Scotia, after consulting with Gough, commanding the fleet, determined to open the letter, and while sending on the original to Amherst, he forwarded a copy to Pitt, with which captain Elphinstone was immediately despatched.

Colville had left Halifax on the 22nd of April. The weather had continued against him, for the favourable wind which had brought Macartney so rapidly to Halifax was directly in the teeth of the ships proceeding in the opposite direction. A vessel had lately arrived at Halifax, which had seen Colville's squadron to the west of cape Race, endeavouring to get clear of the ice, and it was hoped that he had reached Anticosti, and from that spot he would be able to prevent provisions and reinforcements reaching the besiegers.

Murray's letter to Amherst explains the reason of his leaving the city to meet de Lévis in the field. His garrison had melted down to 3,000 men from inveterate scurvy, and were daily mouldering away. Owing to the season, he had been unable to construct fortifications on the heights of Abraham. He could not hesitate a moment about giving the enemy battle, as everyone knew that the place was not tenable against an army in possession of the heights. While Murray was thus vindicating himself, he was also defending the memory of Montcalm. Some writers have taken upon themselves to blame Murray for his conduct, arguing that he recklessly and unnecessarily ran great risks from the personal desire of distinction. Those who study these events can form no such opinion. Murray deliberately accepted the duty of meeting the enemy in the field, from the conviction that it was the true and wise policy to accept. The most important part of his communication was that when he wrote he had only 4,000 men fit for duty.

Murray resolved to hold the place as long as possible, looking forward to the arrival of the fleet to give him relief. On the 2nd of May he caused an examination of the shot and shell to be made. During the few days of the siege 1,473 shot and 962 shells had been fired ; with this expenditure, the ammunition would last only fifteen days. He therefore recommended great economy in its use.

For the next seven days the French pushed on their works with vigour, but no impression had been made upon the town. During this period a French schooner sailed down the river, and again returned to the other ships. The fire from the town, perseveringly continued, interfered greatly with the French works ; many of them were destroyed by it. On the 9th of May, between ten and eleven, a vessel appeared, which in answer to the British colours, which were kept on the citadel, showed the Union Jack. She was the "Lowestoff" frigate, captain Dean, which had left England with commodore Swanton's squadron on the 9th of March. A schooner was accordingly got ready, and sent under command of a midshipman, to communicate with Colville. The arrival of this one vessel did not change the operations of de Lévis. Murray even heard that an attempt would be made to take the city by storm. One half of the men were kept on the ramparts, the other ready to turn out. So matters continued until the 15th, when, at nine o'clock at night, the "Vanguard," with commodore Swanton, the "Diana," captain Schomberg, the schooner "Lawrence," lieutenant Fortye, which had been sent to meet Colville, anchored before the town. The ships of Colville arrived two days later. About ten o'clock * of the night of the 15th

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* Lord Colville wrote to Pitt from Quebec, 24th May, 1760 [Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., 99, p. 144], that he was ready to sail from Halifax on the 20th March, but as that date was too early to ascend the Saint Lawrence, he had appointed the 14th of April for leaving. A south west wind with "dirty weather"

a courier was intercepted from the officer in command of the French detachment, at Beauport, informing de Lévis of the arrival of the vessels, which he believed were French. It was agreed between Murray and Swanton that Murray should beat to arms at one in the morning, as if alarmed at their arrival, and that the French ships should be attacked at the early dawn. On the night of the 15th and 16th the French in force broke in upon the advance line of sentries; one man was killed, another was carried off, and from him de Lévis learned that the ships were British. De Lévis immediately gave orders that the vessels containing stores, ammunition, and artillery should retire; the two frigates were directed to be in readiness to follow them. He caused the artillery to be brought from the trenches, and gave orders for the retreat of the whole force.*

The night was very stormy, and the orders were not delivered as de Lévis had directed. At five in the morning he heard that the French frigates were getting under weigh, and that the British ships were approaching them. As early as it was light, Swanton in the "Vanguard," with the "Lowestoff" and "Diana," ascended the river. Upon their approach the French vessels cut their cables. "La Pomone" went aground on the north shore. "L'Atalante" got away, followed by the English frigates. At cap Rouge she was joined by the transports. Seeing that they ran a risk of being taken, she signalled to them to run aground: she herself was forced to take the same course opposite to Pointe aux Trembles. The commander, de Vauclain, for two hours sustained the attack, until he had fired away all his ammunition. As he ceased to fire, the British sent a boat with a summons to surrender; he had not lowered his flag, and it was left for his captors to haul it down. There were many killed; the wounded had remained on board, and were taken with the vessel. Such as

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had kept the ships in the harbour until the 22nd. He arrived at Bic on the 16th instant, when he received Murray's message. He anchored at Quebec on the morning of the 18th. By that time all was over.

* "le déblaiement de l'armée." [Journal, p. 281.]

were fit for service had been landed and ordered to join the main body of the army. The two frigates remained moored at Pointe aux Trembles. The ship of war did not proceed further than Saint Michel : she returned to the anse au Foulon, from which position she endeavoured to shell the French army. Unfortunately, "the 'Lowestoff' was irrecoverably lost on some unknown rocks in the middle of the river, ten leagues above the town." *

On the departure of the British ships on the morning of the 17th, Murray assembled under arms the greater part of his garrison, with intention to make a sortie. Preliminary to the movement, he sent lieutenant McAlpin to threaten some sallies "to amuse the enemy." This officer shortly returned with the information that the trenches were abandoned. Murray marched out in the hope of intercepting the retreat at cap Rouge, but before his arrival the rear guard had crossed the stream. He, however, succeeded in intercepting a few prisoners, and took some baggage which otherwise would have been carried off. The French camp was left standing, with the greater part of their stores, ammunition, and thirty-four pieces of cannon ; four of them were brass 12-prs., three were six-inch mortars, with a large quantity of intrenching tools, with scaling ladders. The six British field-pieces left on the field on the 28th of April were not to be found ; on coming into the possession of the French, they had been sent to Montreal as a trophy of the victory of de Lévis.

De Lévis had retreated the night of the 16th and 17th. Rations were served out, and the march commenced at ten at night ; at daybreak the army crossed the cap Rouge. He managed to embark in some boats whatever he had been able to save, with the stores he could obtain from the sunken ships and *bateaux ;* by night, keeping close to the bank, he passed unnoticed the British frigates. The French were fortunate in getting afloat the flute "la Marie." What they could not remove they burned.

The troops bivouacked at Pointe aux Trembles. They there heard of the arrival of Colville's fleet; upon receiving this news de Lévis retired to Jacques Cartier, leaving four hundred men at Pointe aux Trembles.

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* Colville to Pitt, 24th May. Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 99, p. 144.

On the 18th a violent storm raged; many of the *bateaux* with provisions were driven on shore, with the loss of their cargo.

It was on this occasion that the "Lowestoff" was forced from her anchorage on some rocks near Pointe aux Trembles.

On the 19th de Lévis received three days' provisions, and he continued his retreat. From want of *bateaux* he had great difficulty in passing the Jacques Cartier river. By this time most of the Canadians had deserted to return to their homes. Hitherto de Lévis had feared that Murray, having received strong reinforcements, would follow in pursuit. He now was convinced that no troops had arrived, and that it would not be possible for Murray to detach more than 1,500 men to attack him. It was, however, possible that they could be embarked in the boats of the fleet and landed above the French so as to dispute the passage of some stream. In this situation he determined still to hold the northern bank of the river; he therefore placed Dumas in command at Dechambeau, with two parties under his orders: one to the east at Pointe aux Trembles, one to the west at Jacques Cartier. De Lévis himself went to Dechambeau and gave full instructions as to the discipline to be observed.

The remaining regiments proceeded to Montreal. De Lévis followed them and arrived in that city at the last days of May. A correspondence took place between de Lévis and Murray with regard to the wounded men who had been unable to join in the retreat. The last words of Murray's journal are "M. de Lévis wrote me a letter requesting that I should take care of the sick and wounded he left behind." Murray replied to de Lévis that the French themselves must supply the wounded with food. De Lévis answered that from the distance from Quebec it was not possible to do so, and that the British having taken possession of the provisions left by the French, they should furnish the sick with what was needed on payment being made. To this Murray rejoined that if he furnished the wounded and sick with food, he would consider them as prisoners. De Lévis tells us that he addressed to Murray several strong letters on the subject, but without effect.*

Such was the termination of de Lévis' attempt to regain Quebec. It is customary to speak of this effort with the greatest admiration. I cannot, myself, see however gallantly it was carried out, that it deserves this praise. Its success depended on the arrival of French ships with men and reinforcements. It naturally may be asked, would it not have been wiser to have waited until the French ships had arrived with these requirements? The troops could have been assembled within thirty miles of Quebec, ready to march at an hour's notice. No truth could be plainer than that the arrival of the first fleet would decide who should be the future possessors of the town, and there does not exist any ground for belief that the French fleet would be the first to arrive. In his attack de Lévis was out-generaled by Murray seizing cap Rouge and fortifying the position, so that no disembarkation could take place there. In consequence de Lévis was compelled to land at Dechambeau and face a march of twenty-eight miles; most trying to the troops at that period of the year, by the road he had to follow, which would have been spared by a landing at cap Rouge. He was thus unable to move forward his artillery and he had to fight the action of the 28th without guns. Murray had only six field-pieces with him, two to each battalion; de Lévis magnified them to twenty-two. Had Murray not resolved to attack de Lévis outside the walls, on withdrawing his post from cap Rouge, de Lévis could have landed his artillery there, and any action taking place would have been a difficult problem for the British general to consider, the French being three to one, provided with artillery, commanded by a general of de Lévis' ability.

The campaign lasted from the day of the battle, the 28th of April, to the night of the 16th of May, when de Lévis commenced his retreat. The action of Murray in marching out to meet him was in every way a surprise. That three thousand British troops for an hour and three-quarters withstood the onslaught of 7,000 regular troops with about 3,000 *habitants* and Indians, must have shewn de Lévis at that early date how little he could expect from his own efforts, and that the only hope he could entertain was the early arrival of the French ships. His losses during the siege of all ranks are named by himself, killed and wounded, at 1,039. This number does not, however, include the *habitants* who joined his ranks, of whose desertion he himself speaks. His loss in ammunition, provisions and baggage was irreparable. The French ships were all destroyed or taken, and de Lévis must have felt as he regained Montreal, that the time had indeed arrived, which was the beginning of the end.

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* "lui écrivit à ce sujet plusieurs lettres très fortes qui ne produisirent aucun changement." Journal, p. 286.

CHAPTER V.

The winter did not pass away at lake Champlain as Amherst had hoped. The French recommenced their system of sending out parties to cut off stragglers and attack convoys. One legitimate object they had in view; the destruction of the British vessels constructed during the previous season which had been the cause of Amherst's inactivity: the necessity of providing other vessels would have exacted the same loss of time, and have greatly aided the French cause. With the result they desired to effect, it would have been thought, that the first conditions of success was to disarm the vigilance of the British garrison, and to conceal the fact that parties were in the field. Instead of this prudent course being followed, the appearance of Indians, or, as Amherst states, of Canadians disguised as Indians, awoke the watchfulness which it was their interest to permit to slumber. On the 12th of February Rogers, with sixteen men unarmed, was proceeding with fourteen sutlers' sleighs from Ticonderoga to Crown Point, when he was attacked by seventy Indians. Rogers with some others reached Crown Point; the remainder returned to Ticonderoga. One sleigh, however, broke down. Two Indians and a squaw were killed, four rangers and a sleighman carried away prisoners. A chest was broken open, some arms plundered, and Rogers himself lost a considerable sum of money. Rogers relates his desire to pursue the assailants, but that colonel Haviland at Crown Point objected, owing to the sick condition of the garrison. Later in April some officers and men of Blakeney's and of the rangers, in all ten in number, were surprised by a party of five hundred and sixty men under de Langy. In these petty operations the trifling successes obtained could not have been carried on without loss, and the insignificant results poorly repaid the privations suffered by those engaged in them. The weather was most severe. In February a detachment of one hundred and sixty-six men, returning from Ticonderoga to Crown Point, so suffered from frost-bite that on the following morning the surgeon amputated one hundred toes.* The French would never understand that these attacks were tactically a blunder, for they made known that forces, bent upon mischief, were in the field. Such operations were not only discountenanced, but were unknown with the British; and as their views of war were more enlarged, they were more dangerous. The whole attention of the authorities in London and in New York was given to the coming campaign, for it had been determined that it should be conducted with great vigour, and if possible should bring the war in America to a close.

Early in the year Amherst received instructions from Pitt to communicate with the provincial governors on the subject of the aid to be given by them. As was constantly the case, there was hesitation in Pennsylvania. Before the close of the year Hamilton, the governor, had reported to Amherst † that the assembly had sent a message requesting him to take speedy and effectual measures to disband the provincial forces with the exception of fifty men. Hamilton replied by pointing out the many objections that could be urged against this proceeding; nevertheless, the legislature persevered in its view, and the governor had no alternative but so to act. Amherst had sent a circular to each governor in the northern provinces enclosing a copy of a despatch from Pitt, in which he suggested that the assemblies should be called together in March. The necessity of these levies was submitted to the Pennsylvanian house of assembly, but the members declined entering upon the measure until the amount of the aids demanded, as well as the purposes for which they were intended, should be laid before them. After an exchange of some messages between the governor and assembly on the

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* Amherst to Pitt, 17 February, 1760. A. & W. I., 92.2, p. 542.

† Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 92.1, p. 198.

8th of March, it was agreed that they would raise and pay 2,700 men.*

In February Amherst had given instructions to Bradstreet to make arrangements for the march of 10,000 men to lake Champlain and for the ascent of the Mohawk by the same number with the view of descending the Saint Lawrence. The boats for this expedition were ordered to be built at Oswego. In that case they would not have to be portaged, and accordingly they could be constructed heavier and stronger. At the same time sir William Johnson was called upon to organize as many Indians as he could collect for the ensuing campaign.

On the 3rd of March Amherst received news from Quebec. Montresor, a young officer charged with the despatch, was likewise the bearer of a verbal communication: Murray's important information not having been committed to writing, but had been learned by heart by his messenger. Montresor was accompanied by twelve rangers with an officer. He left Quebec on the 26th of January; it took him thirty-one days to reach Boston. He had ascended the Chaudière and twelve days before he arrived at the first New England settlement, the provisions had been consumed. He and his men had been forced to eat their moccasins and leather bullet pouches. Great privation was undergone from cold and hunger, to which one of the party succumbed, dying on the march. Murray fully reported to Amherst the difficulties under which he laboured, and pointed out that his ability to defend the garrison depended on the arrival of the English fleet. The consequence of Murray's letter was the determination to reinforce Quebec with two regiments from Louisbourg, and Whitmore was notified to despatch them as soon as feasible.

Amherst reached Albany on the 8th of May, and commenced to move forward provisions to Crown Point and to Oswego. The provincial troops arrived slowly, causing delay in forwarding the supplies. Reports were being spread that peace would soon be made; and in every province the hope prevailed that the bounty and levy money might be saved, and the expense of placing troops in the field avoided.

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* Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 92.2, p. 407.

A great many desertions during the winter had taken place in Nova Scotia, and the majority of the provincials, on service there, anxiously desired to return home. The legislature of Massachusetts intervened on behalf of the forces of that province, and called upon Pownall, then governor, to take steps for their recall. The request was sent to Amherst, and he replied that they could not be spared at that time. The men at fort Cumberland threatened to abandon the post, and positively refused to re-enlist, although the legislature voted an additional bounty of £4 to each man and a month's pay to each officer.* The difficulty was removed by the order of the legislature to enlist five hundred men to replace this force; to be forwarded by companies, so that as the new levies arrived the men on service could be relieved.

The newly-enlisted provincial troops assembled slowly; indeed, it was not until the end of May they began to arrive at Albany.† By this time Amherst had heard from two prisoners who had escaped from Montreal, that de Lévis, with great loss, had been beaten back from his attack on Quebec. He was tempted, consequently, to make some movement against île aux Noix. On the 10th of June Rogers started with 200 men. He landed on the west side of the lake, and within eight miles of the fort; he came upon a party of 300 men. A skirmish followed, and the French retreated with a loss of fifty men. Rogers' loss was two officers and ten men killed and nine wounded. The season was advancing, for it was the middle of June; if the campaign was to be undertaken, no more time could be allowed fruitlessly to pass away. Previous to Amherst's own departure it was necessary to give instructions, both to Haviland

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* Seventy-eight of the garrison of Saint John took possession of a fishing boat and deserted *en masse*. Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 93.1, p. 268.

† Amherst to Pitt, Schenectady, 24th June, 1760. Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 93.2, p. 307. "The sloth of the colonies in raising their troops, and sending them to their rendezvous, made it impracticable for me to move the troops on so soon as I could wish."

and Murray, with regard to the part each should take in the campaign. There was no longer apprehension as to the safety of Quebec. Steps had been taken to reinforce the garrison, and the British fleet was in front of the city. Murray was accordingly instructed to ascend the river and open communication with the troops in front of île aux Noix. Haviland was appointed to the command of the expedition on lake Champlain; he was informed that he could act against île aux Noix on the right or left side of the river, as he deemed expedient, with the design of cutting off all communication from the north.* Thus the advance against Montreal was to be made by the three routes under different *corps d'armée.* Amherst himself was to descend the Saint Lawrence; Haviland, after driving the French from île aux Noix, was to march to the south bank of the Saint Lawrence, in front of the city; while Murray was to ascend the river from Quebec, to land his force at the spot on the north or south bank, which circumstances might dictate.

Amherst reached Oswego on the 9th of July, having anticipated the arrival of many of the provincial regiments. On the 12th two French vessels appeared in the offing, evidently striving to obtain information of Amherst's movements. On the 14th two British schooners, ordered to take part in the descent of the Saint Lawrence, arrived from Niagara. The "Onondaga," with four 9-prs., the "Newhaven," of fourteen 6-prs. each, with a crew of one hundred men. On the 20th the French vessels again appeared; the British ships gave chase, but the French escaped. The troops continued to arrive; sir William Johnson, with a force of Indians, and the provincial regiments sent in from Albany. On the 25th news came of lord George Sackville's disgrace for his cowardice at Minden, and the consequent loss of his military rank; the sentence was read at the head of every regiment in North America.

By the first week of August the whole of the regiments to take part in the expedition had arrived, and on the 10th the force was embarked. Amherst started with the regular battalions, amounting to 5,586 men. Gage followed with the provincials, 4,479 in number, the total strength of the expedition being 10,065. The crew in the two armed scows consisted of 190 men ; 706 Indians were under the orders of sir William Johnson. This force was embarked on 166 whale boats and 656 *bateaux.**

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* Amherst to Haviland, Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 93.2, p. 489, 12th June, 1760.

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* Embarkation return of H. M. forces, under the command of major-general Amherst. From the camp at fort Ontario, 9th August, 1760.

		Officers.	N. C. Officers. Rank & File.	Total.	
	Royal Artillery	13	124	137	
42nd,	1st Battalion Royal Highlanders	30	462	492	
"	2nd Battalion Royal Highlanders	29	391	420	
44th,	Abercrombie's	27	599	626	
46th,	Murray's	25	499	524	
55th,	Oughton's	23	505	528	
60th,	4th Battalion Royal Americans	31	439	470	
62nd,	Montgomery's	33	506	539	
80th,	Gages'	21	454	475	
	Grenadiers	24	568	592	
	Light Infantry	24	568	592	
	Rangers	7	184	191	
		287	5,299	5,586	5,586
	Provincials.				
	New York, Le Roux	25	471	496	
	" Corsa	30	567	597	
	" Woodhull	27	458	485	
	New Jersey, Schuyler's	26	496	522	
	Connecticut, Lyman	44	594	638	
	" Whiting	45	549	594	
	" Wooster	45	538	583	
	" Fitch	45	519	564	
		287	4,192	4,479	4,479
	Grand Total				10,065
	Two armed Snows—				
	Onondaga			100	
	Mohawk			90	
					190
	Indians				706
					10,961

[Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 94, p. 143.]

By the 10th the boats reached Point au Baril, where one of the French vessels was moored. It was too dark to attack her on their arrival, but at daybreak boats were sent against her. The vessel was "L'Outaouaise," commanded by La Broquerie; some resistance was attempted, for she was armed with ten 12-prs. and four swivels. At ten she struck, after a cannonade of three hours. Amherst proceeded up the river to Oswegatchie [Ogdensburg], and encamped. Engineers were sent forward to make a reconnaissance of the island lately fortified at the head of the rapids, and to examine the position of the enemy. Gage, in three galleys, with the light infantry, the grenadiers, and the first brigade of regulars, prepared to invest the island, and the two vessels came up, taking a position whence it could be attacked. The spot had been carefully fortified, as directed by de Lévis, and was under the command of Pouchot, who had the previous July defended Niagara. Pouchot had been included in the exchange of prisoners which had been effected in lake Champlain the following November. During the month of March he had been sent on the ice to take charge of the post which hitherto had been under the command of Desandroins. Pouchot relates, that having at Niagara lost all he possessed, he was short of every article of equipment. As he had to travel in winter he applied to the intendant for a blanket, which that officer, Pouchot tells us, "had the barbarity to refuse." He received a keg of wine of twelve *pots*, "a considerable affair as things stood;" it was all the consideration Pouchot obtained.*

Pouchot left La Presentation with the abbé Picquet and some of his Indians to commence his duties on the island. The garrison consisted of one hundred and fifty colonial troops, with six officers. He found the fort surrounded by a rampart eighteen feet wide. Pouchot constructed a second parapet of nine feet in width, with embrasures, thus forming a *banquette* of four feet. The defence was thus eleven feet high. As the season advanced the garrison was increased by one hundred militia ; the men, however, contended that they had been engaged only to bring provisions up the river, and twenty of them deserted, returning with the *bateaux*.

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* Pouchot, English Translation, I., p. 229.

Pouchot's spies had made him acquainted with the preparations being made at Oswego, and he learned that the long dreaded descent of the Saint Lawrence was at length to take place. It had been constantly expected, especially by de Lévis, who had ordered the fortification of this island with the design of obstructing the movement.* Pouchot's fort did not seem to be held of much account with the British, for the Indians sent by him brought back the expression current in the garrison that they would pass it " as a beaver's hut."

There could now be little doubt that the movement would no longer be delayed. Pouchot was made cognizant of its reality sooner than he anticipated : on the 16th of August, two Indians brought him word that the British were at Point au Baril, with the advance guard at La Presentation.

On the 18th the attack was made against the fort. The boats advanced in regular order, and Pouchot imagined that their design was to take it by storm. He relates with some admiration the striking appearance the spectacle presented. He took steps to meet the assault by bringing his artillery to bear up the river. After remaining some short time in this position, the boats filed along the north shore with a considerable interval between them to escape the artillery, in order to take possession of the islands below the fort. Many of the officers recognized Pouchot. They had known him as a prisoner, after the capture of Niagara, and as they were sailing by, called out to him with some compliment, and with expressions of good wishes.

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* De Lévis had long entertained great apprehension of an attack by the Saint Lawrence. His last letter from Montreal to Montcalm, dated the 6th of September, which could have been received only three or four days before the death of the latter, shews strongly this feeling. After stating that he believed the British force before Quebec would not long delay its departure, so that the French would only be attacked in one direction, he adds : " C'est bien à désirer pour celle des Rapides ; car pour cette année, ou du moins jusqu' au premier octobre elle est bien en l'air." Lettre 234.

A second division, under Haldimand, passed down to the south of the island to post his force out of cannon shot. Gage remained at Oswegatchie. In spite of the compliments which passed, Pouchot's cannonade was sufficiently spirited: one galley was sunk, ten men were killed and wounded. The Indians who had followed landed on the two larger islands, Galops and Picquet, which presented the appearance of having been hastily abandoned. Two swivel guns, a few barrels of pitch, with many tools, utensils, and some iron, were left behind. There were also several scalps hanging on the walls. The sight so enraged the Indians that they burned the houses, not sparing the chapel.

On the 19th, the British batteries in position on the north side, on a projecting point, commenced firing upon the fort, and the two vessels anchored above the rapid joined in the attack. On the 20th, some batteries were commenced on the south shore. The following day the British were busied in completing their preparations, and nothing was done. On the 22nd, at five in the morning, the three vessels, among them "l'Outaouaise," being re-named by British seamen, as the "Williamson," approached within 1,200 feet of the fort, forming a half circle around it, and commenced a brisk cannonade. All the batteries were at the same time opened; they consisted of 24-prs., 18-prs., and 12-prs. Amherst, with great despatch, had thrown up four batteries: one at the point on the south shore, two upon the two islands in the neighborhood to the northwest, and one on an island lower down, due north.*

On the 23rd, the batteries were opened. After some firing, a disposition for storming the works was made. The vessels, however, failed to perform good service; two ran aground, a third came into shallow water, and becoming unmanageable, was exposed to the enemy's shot. She was so mauled, that she sent a boat to the fort, offering to surrender so that the fire should cease. Amherst observing something unsatisfactory, ordered on board an officer's party under lieutenant Pennington, who again hoisted the British colours. But the vessel could not be got off, and she was abandoned at midnight. The attack was continued on the 24th, when the superiority of the British artillery told with every shot. Many of the French guns were dismounted. Pouchot found himself able to be mischievous against the men in the trenches, but he could not touch the batteries. On the morning of the 25th he determined to capitulate, and beat the *chamade*.

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* Pouchot mentions these islands under the names of point Ganalaregoin, île à la Cuisse, île de la Magdelaine, and île Péquéton de Gal: a nomenclature long forgotten.

Pouchot took exception to the conditions Amherst would grant, and wrote him, stating his objections. The terms were, that the garrison should be constituted prisoners of war, and everything surrendered ; the property not to be injured ; deserters and Indians not to be included in the conditions. Amherst had already been a week detained, and he was disinclined to submit to further loss of time, by negotiations for terms of surrender which he was determined not to grant. He accordingly repeated the conditions he had offered, adding that he expected an answer within ten minutes after his letter had been received, Yes or No.* However hard Pouchot might consider the reply, no course was open to him but the acceptance of what was offered ; the fort was surrendered. Of the 300 of the French garrison, 12 were killed and 40 wounded. The loss of the British between the 16th and the 25th of August was 22 killed and 23 wounded.* The prisoners surrendered were 384.†

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* Amherst's letter could not be misunderstood : "Je viens dans ce moment de recevoir votre lettre, je me prête sans delai à vous faire parvenir les conditions sur les quelles je m'attends que vous rendrez la place dans la quelle vous commandez. Vous les avez ci-incluses, et je m'attends à votre décision definitive sous dix minutes après que vous les aurez reçues, moyenment quoi vous aurez la toute de dire Oui ou Non.

Je suis très parfaitement, &c.

Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 94, p. 134.

The Indians having seen the scalps on île Galops, and likewise in the quarters of the fort, were desirous of avenging the injuries of which the scalps were a memorial; they desired to wipe out the supposed wrong in the massacre of the garrison. No proceeding was more repellant to Amherst than the atrocities arising out of the gratification of Indian revenge; he would never permit any cruelty of reprisal. Johnson was called upon to exercise his influence. Strong control was imposed upon this manifestation, and the feeling, at least any active exhibition of it, was forcibly repressed. The Indians looked upon the prohibition as a grievance; some fancied slight increased their ill humor, and many left the camp chagrined by the restrictions imposed upon them. Nevertheless a fair number of them remained with the army. Amherst was able to write from the camp at Montreal to Pitt that Johnson "had taken unwearied pains in keeping the Indians in humane bounds and I have the pleasure to assure you that not a peasant woman or child has been hurt by them, or a house burnt, since I have entered what was the enemy's country."

Amherst gave to the conquered island the name of fort William Augustus. It was from this place he sent the diary of his proceedings; and he wrote to the governor of New York, that as he had destroyed French power at La Presentation, and on the islands at the head of the rapids, the settlers on the Mohawk should be invited to return, for now they were assured "of a quiet and peaceable abode in their habitations."

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* Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 94, p. 142.

† Officers..	10	
Rank and file................	237	
		247
Crew of Iroquoise............	36	
" Outaouaise......... ..	101	
		137
		384

[Women 8.]

Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 94, p. 141.

All memory of these events has however passed away. Thousands in the season of navigation ascend and descend the Saint Lawrence. It is a rare exception among the travellers for any one to recall the day when Ogdensburg, then La Presentation, was the spot from whence the ruthless Indian bands were sent to devastate the unguarded villages of the Mohawk. Fewer notice the small island, the first to be seen in the centre of the river. somewhat nearer the southern than to the northern bank, to remember that it was the scene of the last attempt of the French, to hold the country around lake Ontario ; and that this apparently insignificant spot stood a siege of some days, before it yielded up the slight remnant of French power which it represented.

Pouchot relates, that he had a long private conversation with Amherst, in which the British general, as was the feeling with the whole army, expressed some dread with regard to the descent of the rapids. Pouchot does not appear to have given him much encouragement. Amherst took from among the Canadian prisoners thirty-six guides for the *bateaux*. The remainder of the garrison were sent prisoners to New York by the way of Oswego.

Amherst had now to make his preparations for the descent of the river, and he must have felt, that whatever the general character of the rapids, the passage of them in many instances must be attended with danger, and that the safety of the attempt depended on the skill and loyalty of the pilot. The Indians could furnish many men capable of safely piloting the boats. With the exception of this assistance, he had not a man in his force, who was acquainted with the channels of the river, and few who had ever seen rapids of the magnitude and character of those of the Saint Lawrence. The study and knowledge of overcoming a rapid may be described as an art. At this day, there are men accustomed to the use of a canoe, with special skill in discovering the channel of the most foaming descent, who will walk up the river bank of the rapid which they look upon for the first time, and by their power of observation, and their experience in reading the evidence furnished by the rush of waters, and the eddies which intervene, will discover the right mode of passing through them. Establishing land marks for their guidance, amid the roar and tumult of the waters, unhesitatingly they trust themselves to the line they must follow, suggested only by their knowledge of the laws which are invariable. These men are rare, and, whatever their natural aptitude, must gain their skill by experience and practice. Amherst had 166 whale boats and 656 *bateaux* to carry down the Saint Lawrence, and it was an anxious thought with him where the 822 pilots to navigate them were to be obtained ; men with the knowledge, the skill, the nerve, the coolness to overcome any accidental or dangerous irregularity. It took Amherst five days to complete his organization. The fact is important, as it establishes that there was no want of care or prudence on his part.

On the 31st the expedition rowed twenty-four miles. It safely descended the several rapids of the Galops, Point Cardinal, Point Iroquois and the Rapid plat, and passed over the ten miles of quiet water to reach Farren's Point rapids,* about five miles above the long Sault rapids. That night they encamped on île Chats,† at the head of the rapids. The boats had so easily made their way that much of the anxiety of Amherst was relieved, and he wrote in his diary that "the rapids are more frightful than dangerous," an opinion which, within the next few days, he was to have terrible reason to change. On the 1st of September the boats went down the Long Sault rapids. The descent was not made with the entire freedom from accident hitherto experienced ; a corporal and three of the highlanders were drowned. The force encamped at a place fourteen miles below, which Amherst mentions as Johnson's Point ; on the French map of the time it is described as Point Maline. The name was possibly given owing to

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* I have stated (ante, p. 221) that "Point Cardinal" in modern times is known as Farren's Point rapid. This description is incorrect. The name is still retained, Farren's Point being a distinct locality, as stated in the text. Cardinal, the present post office name of the place, is a flourishing village with a population of nearly one thousand souls.

† This island is still known as Cat's island.

Johnson having visited the Saint Regis Indians, as he calls them the Asquesaskua, to assure them of his protection, and by thus entering into friendly relations with them, to obtain their neutrality. The strong force of Amherst was in itself too strong an argument to be resisted. On the 2nd of September they rowed in quiet water on lake Saint Francis twenty-four miles, to the river Baudet, and encamped on the western point at the mouth of the river, now known as McGee's Point, upon which a light-house is constructed. Amherst here heard news of de la Corne, who, on receiving information that Amherst was above Ogdensburg, had abandoned île Galops, and for a time had remained at this spot, whence he retreated to the Cedars. Owing to a heavy fall of rain the troops proceeded no further than this place. On the 3rd the descent was made of the Coteau rapids without any casualty, and they reached the head of the Cedars. It was a short day's journey, some seventeen miles. There was at this period some slight settlement at the Cedars and at Vaudreuil, which had passed possibly from île Perrot, but the population was small.*

On the 4th of September the descent was made of the Cedars and Cascade rapids. Hitherto all had gone smoothly; but this good fortune was no longer to continue. Amherst was to learn that the navigation of the Cedars was to prove an exception to the safety with which the other rapids had been passed, and not the simple matter he supposed it to be. The day was not to close without a painful disaster. Twenty-nine *bateaux* of regiments and seventeen *bateaux* of artillery

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* The census of 1765 shews that settlement on the island of Montreal extended to Saint Geneviève, viz.:

	Families.	Population.
Lachine	76	413
Point Claire.	147	783
St. Geneviève.........	172	796
St. Anne........	67	325
Île Perrot contained....	60	294

The only settlements west of the island of Montreal were Vaudreuil, 83 families, with 377 of population, and the Cedars, 56 families, with 309 of a population. Census 1870-71, p. 64.

and stores were wrecked, with seventeen whale boats and a row galley. Eighty-four men were drowned. Some of the *bateaux* were recovered, and the guns, stores and provisions were saved; one whale boat was stove in, twenty-two *bateaux* irrecoverably lost. No detailed narrative is to be found of the disaster beyond a summary of the loss; the fact of the drowned men could not be suppressed.

That night the troops arrived at île Perrot, situate at the junction of the Ottawa with the Saint Lawrence. The few settlers ran into the woods. In a short period, however, some of them returned, and taking a conditional oath of allegiance, were placed in possession of their property. Amherst, in relating the fact, tells us that they seemed as much surprised with their treatment as they were made happy by it. The whole of the 5th was occupied in getting the *bateaux* and boats together, and repairing them where necessary. On the 6th the force embarked at daybreak and proceeded down the wide expanse of lake Saint Louis to Lachine. The weather was most favourable, and the season of the year is, perhaps, the most pleasant in Canada. The landing was made at Lachine. Two New York and two Connecticut regiments were left to hold the place and guard the boats, while the main force proceeded to the open ground, traversed by the river Saint Pierre, which then existed to the west of Montreal, through which the Grand Trunk railway now runs on leaving the city. There the British troops established themselves; the men on the night of the 6th of September lying on their arms.

CHAPTER VI.

Murray left Quebec on the 14th of July with 2,200 chosen men. He had been notified by Amherst that two regiments were to be sent to him from Louisbourg ; he did not, however, delay his departure on account of their non-arrival, but leaving orders for the reinforcement to follow him, ascended the Saint Lawrence. He left 1,700 men fit for duty at Quebec, with 1,300 sick and convalescent. Murray's theory was, that unless the Canadians joined de Lévis, his force would be nearly equal to that which the French could bring against him ; and should the Canadian population take part in any offensive movement, they became combatants, and the country lay at his mercy ; for by so acting they would forfeit all title to consideration.

Murray was convoyed by three frigates and twelve gunboats carrying twenty-four 18-prs. and 12-prs. With the *bateaux* they amounted to thirty-five vessels. On the 16th they were off Dechambeau. The French hoped that some accident might happen at this place ; but a strong easterly wind caused the whole of the little fleet safely to pass the spots looked upon as dangerous. The garrison at Quebec had forced the Canadians to a man to abandon the army. Murray had little fear of any hostile movement in the neighbourhood of the town. On the 13th of July, however, he issued a proclamation to the Canadians, calling upon them to remain quiet in their homes, and in such a case they would receive no ill-treatment. It was addressed particularly to the districts of Three Rivers and Montreal, in the hope that the *habitants* might be induced not to leave their farms.

De Lévis feared that the object of Murray was to attempt a junction with Haviland's force, threatening to ascend lake Champlain. Naturally, it would be effected at Sorel, at the mouth of the Richelieu. There is no difficulty with vessels of light draught ascending that river from Chambly to Sorel. There are, however, some parts of the channel which are narrow, and in a small stream of the character of the Richelieu they can be closed without great effort. De Bourlamaque was instructed to proceed to Sorel to see what could be effected to impede the communication, and he ordered a channel known by the name of *chenal de Grace* to be closed. Steps were also taken to some extent to fortify Sorel. On the 5th of August Murray's force passed Three Rivers, and cast anchor five miles higher up. The two regiments from Louisbourg, under lord Rollo, had now joined the detachment. As Murray advanced, he landed troops on the south side and received the submission of the *habitants*, who generally took the oath of allegiance. On the north shore, as the ships advanced, the French retreated westwardly. Lord Rollo was sent on shore to disarm the population as far as Three Rivers. At Dechambeau and Jacques Cartier, Murray improved the fortifications, so that at either place, if necessary, two thousand troops could be intrenched. On the 12th the British were before Sorel, and fired some guns upon the men engaged on the defences. On the 13th a disposition was shewn to attempt a descent, but it was not persevered in.

De Lévis had proceeded to Berthier, on the northern shore, opposite to Sorel, to which place Dumas had retreated. When at Berthier, on the 18th of August de Lévis received a courier from Montreal bringing news of the surrender of fort Lévis, and of the threatened descent of the Saint Lawrence by Amherst, which dissipated his anticipation of being able to attack the enemy in detail. It had been his only chance independently of the desperate hope, that news of peace would extricate the French force from the dangerous position, which all must have seen portended ultimate defeat.

Murray landed at Sorel and found the place deserted, the inhabitants having joined the French force. Murray felt himself, as he describes it, "under the cruel necessity of burning the houses" of those who were in the field as combatants. It was in accordance with his proclamation, in which he asked for neutrality, and threatened the retribution of war on those who failed to observe it.*

Murray continued his ascent of the Saint Lawrence to Contrecœur, eighteen miles below the eastern point of the island of Montreal. He arrived on the 24th of August, and from this place he wrote to Pitt an account of his operations. He here remained until he could communicate with Amherst and Haviland. Murray, in a letter to Pitt after the capitulation, stated that de Vaudreuil insinuated terms of surrender to him which, says Murray, "I rejected, the commander-in-chief then being three days march from Montreal." We have no details of the proposition, but there can be little doubt of its having been made.†

The advance from lake Champlain of the British force had been distinguished by uninterrupted success. Haviland left Crown Point on the 16th of August. The troops, 3,500 in number, were accompanied by one brig, three sloops, and four floating stages, bearing the artillery.

Rogers, with the rangers and seventy Indians, was in front, the whale boats being in line; the light infantry and grenadiers, of the 17th and 27th, followed in two columns, the boats being two abreast. The right wing, including the Massachusett's regiments, were commanded by brigadier Ruggles; the left wing, under colonel Thomas, was formed of the New Hampshire and Boston troops. The regulars consisted of the remaining companies of the 17th and 27th, with four companies of the Royals. The artillery was protected by a guard of Rhode Islanders. On the first day they rowed forty miles. On the 17th they made a halt; on the 18th they came within ten miles of île Lamothe, where they encamped. During the advance of this day some of the boats were split open by the force of the waves, and ten rangers were drowned. On the 19th they reached the north of île Lamothe, where they bivouacked.

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* Murray was not a man given to cant; it was with extreme unwillingness he took this course; he acted alone from the feeling of its necessity. In reporting it to Pitt he added: "I pray God this example may suffice, for my nature revolts when this becomes a necessary part of my duty." Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 99, p. 154.

† Murray brought his own position to the notice of Pitt. He stated that he was a soldier of fortune, and he enclosed a copy of a letter to lord Barrington, "which probably will have the fate of many he receives, unless you will be pleased to interfere on my behalf." He then complained that he had exhausted his funds. That the allowance to him of twenty shillings a day as governor of Quebec was insufficient; in reality, it only amounted to fifteen shillings. He had previously written to Pitt that the men had had no pay since the 24th of October. Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 99, pp. 162-5.

The expedition was now within twenty miles of the island. Starting early on the 20th, the boats reached ground to the east of the fort. Here colonel Darby landed with the grenadiers and light infantry, accompanied by the rangers. No interference was attempted with their landing, and notice was accordingly sent to Haviland, who with the main force had remained above the landing, that there was nothing to fear from the enemy.

During the winter the works had been completed under de Lusignan, who had been actively engaged in completing the defences, from time to time sending out parties of Indians and Canadians, under de Langy, to hang about the garrison, to seize prisoners, and to commit what devastation they were able. De Langy was drowned at the opening of the navigation; with two men in a canoe he was attempting to cross a river, when it was struck by a large floe of ice, causing it to sink. The three went down with the canoe, and possibly were too benumbed with cold to save themselves.* Langy de Montegron was an officer of great courage and ability, and in these expeditions of surprise had been untiring in his energy.

De Bougainville was now in command. Originally his force had consisted of four hundred and fifty men, but the appearance of the British schooners before the fort had led him to apply for reinforcements; the second battalion of Berri, with two hundred militia, had been sent to him. He must have felt how incapable he was of defending the post. On the 15th of June a party under Rogers had advanced not only beyond île aux Noix, but had passed Saint John's unopposed, to reach Saint Thérèse at the head of the rapids, about five miles above Chambly. The British burned a building containing stores and provisions, destined for Saint John's, with the houses in the neighbourhood; twenty of the *habitants* were carried away as prisoners, and all the carts at the fort were taken possession of. Consequent upon this attack not only île aux Noix was reinforced, but the regiments of La Reine and Royal Rousillon were sent to Saint John's, under the command of de Roquemaure. They were subsequently strengthened by a detachment of militia from Montreal.

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* Pouchot, I., p. 236.

The British force without interference passed round the east of the fort, and by the 21st batteries had been constructed from which shells were thrown into the defences. The schooners belonging to the French, moored below, replied to the fire. On the 24th the guns had been placed to bear upon the vessels; the first shot cut the cable by which the floating stage was moored, and it drifted over to the eastern shore. On observing this mischance, the remaining vessels endeavoured to make their way to Saint John's. They had the misfortune to run aground two miles below the fort. While Rogers kept up a strong fire of musketry from the shore, the rangers, armed with tomahawks, swam on board one of the vessels and took possession of it. The floating stage was by this time manned, and the remaining two vessels were easily taken. De Bougainville sent notice of his disaster, and he received orders to hold the fort as long as he was able, and when it was no longer possible to do so, seeing that no assistance could be given him, he was to make good his retreat.

On the 26th, de Bougainville, seeing his defences turned and all aid cut off, called a council of war, when the opinion was given that the fort could no longer be held. De Bougainville accordingly left a garrison of fifty men of wounded and invalids with orders to surrender on the 28th. On the 27th he landed above the fort on the west bank where he could do so unobserved, and passing through the woods some thirteen miles, reached Saint John's. From the great quantity of fallen timber the march is described as one of much effort.

On the 28th the surrender took place; a few of the British whale boats descended the river to Saint John's. The place was not defensible, so on their appearance the garrison retired from the fort out of cannon shot, until the 29th, holding themselves in readiness further to retire on the approach of the main body of the enemy. Troops had been posted at Chambly and Saint Thérèse, the commandant at the latter place being instructed, on the advance of the British, to burn the fort and retire to Chambly.

The Canadian militia present at île aux Noix on the abandonment of the fort, depressed by the reverse, deserted from the army to return to their farms. This feeling was communicated to those who were with the force at Saint John's, and they likewise abandoned their colours. Many of the regular troops also accompanied them. On the 29th the boats of Haviland, now being able, unopposed, to descend the Richelieu, appeared in their full strength before St. John's. De Roquemaure set fire to the fort, and retreated towards Laprairie. Haviland's force took possession of the place, and partially remained there the 30th and 31st.

Rogers, with 400 men, received orders to follow de Bougainville. He came up with the rear guard of 200 men, which broke on his appearance. As Rogers advanced, he found the main body of 1,500 men and 100 Indians posted behind a bridge over a small stream. He did not think it prudent to attack a force so much stronger than his own, so he returned to make his report to Haviland, who had reached Saint Thérèse, and was encamped there.

Rogers was sent on to Chambly to join colonel Darby, who was in possession of the fort, the garrison, consisting of fifty men, having surrendered on the 1st of September. The oath of allegiance was administered to the *habitants*, who, on being permitted to retain their properties, readily accepted its conditions. Rogers was directed to open communication with Murray, and he proceeded to Longueuil, in the hope of hearing of him, but at that date Murray was lower down on the island of Montreal, and it was not until the 6th that he could give notice of his arrival to colonel Haldimand, at the head of the light infantry and grenadiers.

De Lévis, hearing of the position of Haviland, thought that it might be possible to attack him. On the 1st of September he examined the ground held by de Roquemaure, and he ordered him to retreat to Laprairie. He had learned that Murray had landed a force at Varennes. At the same time information was brought that Haviland was advancing upon Chambly. There was no news of Amherst; de la Corne was stationed at the Cedars, but he had not heard that on that day the British force was on lake Saint Francis. On the 2nd, de Lévis summoned the Indians to Laprairie, asking them to second him in his operations. While the meeting was taking place a messenger arrived to tell them that the tribes at Saint Regis had been seen by Johnson and peace had been made with the British; further, that Amherst's force was approaching the Cedars. The consequence was that the meeting broke up. De Lévis shortly afterwards received a despatch from de la Corne, telling him how matters stood, and that Amherst would be in Montreal the day after the morrow. Accordingly de Lévis ordered over to the island of Montreal all the troops which were on the south of the river. The corps of de Bourlamaque was placed below the city; that of de Roquemaure was stationed above; Dumas was posted on the eastern part of the island. Murray's force was on the south shore, within four hours' march of Montreal. All that de Lévis could do was to await the issue of events, for it was certain Amherst would stand before Montreal unopposed, and the consideration was, what, in this desperate situation, should be attempted. No prospect could be more gloomy.

CHAPTER VII.

When the news of Amherst's arrival at Lachine was known, and that at eleven o'clock he had commenced his march upon Montreal, the resolution was taken to withdraw the force within the walls, and Dumas' corps was moved nearer the city. As the British force appeared upon the plain to the west of the city, the militia abandoned the army and returned to their parishes. Several of the married men of the regular army deserted and joined their families. About two thousand were all that remained in the field, and they had only provisions sufficient for from fifteen to twenty days.* A council of war of the officers was held on the night of the 6th at the house of de Vaudreuil, when a memoir proposing a capitulation was read by Bigot. It set forth that, by the desertion of the Canadians and of a great number of the soldiers, the whole available force was 2,400 men. The Indians had made peace with the English, and had even offered to aid in conquering the French.† It was to be expected that on the morning Murray would land on the island of Montreal, and the corps on the southern bank of the river would join the main army, and that it was for the benefit of the colony to obtain an advantageous capitulation. The conclusion was accepted by all present.

On the morning of the 7th, de Bougainville was sent with a proposal to Amherst for a cessation of arms for a month. It was refused, and after some conversation Amherst consented that no movement should be made until twelve o'clock. De Vaudreuil, however, at ten o'clock sent a messenger to Amherst: on this occasion he offered to capitulate, and he enclosed the terms on which he proposed to surrender. There had been no attempt to oppose Amherst; indeed, as the inhabitants of the city had refused to take up arms, there was no means of doing so. There however had been some show of resistance against Murray's advance. A battalion of colonial troops had been placed on Saint Helen's island, and the flute, the "Marie," had received all the guns she was capable of carrying. Two batteries had been constructed at the foot of the current so as to oppose any attempt at landing. Murray, however, disembarked at ten o'clock at Pointe aux Trembles, ten miles from Montreal, and had then advanced four miles, where he remained until the evening, when he came up close to the *faubourg*.

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* "des vivres pour environ quinze à vingt jours." Journal de Lévis, p. 303.

† "et même leur avoient offert de prendre les armes pour achever de nous réduire." Journal de Lévis, p. 304.

Amherst cannot be considered as having been exacting in the conditions which he was willing to grant, as the terms of the capitulation shew. There was one clause enforced by him peculiarly distasteful to de Lévis, that the troops should lay down their arms, be sent prisoners to France, and not serve during the war. At the request of de Lévis, de Vaudreuil sent back du Lac with a letter asking a reconsideration of the terms. Amherst replied that he had set forth the terms he had determined to grant, and he desired an immediate reply as to their acceptance, for the conditions would not be changed. Again de Vaudreuil sent de Bougainville with a request to Amherst that he would hear his explanation. Amherst gave the same answer, he could make no change in the conditions; and he desired an immediate reply to know if they were accepted or not.* The negotiations, however, were not concluded, for de Lévis sent his quartermaster-general, de la Pause,† on the subject of the too rigorous article imposed upon the troops, which he said they could not accept, and he asked Amherst to consider its hardship, Amherst briefly repeated the substance of his former letters, and demanded a definite answer by the bearer.

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* Amherst wrote: "Je ne saurois changer en rien les conditions que j'ai offertes à M. le Marq. de Vaudreuil et je compte sur la reponse définitive par le retour du parleur."

† "notre maréchal général de logis."

Knox gives an account of this interview which is not authenticated by other evidence. It must, however, be borne in mind that Knox was present with the troops, and that he was generally well informed of what took place. His work was published within a few years after the event in 1769, and there is every reason to believe that it was seen by Amherst. I give, therefore, his description of what passed between Amherst and de Lévis' messenger. De Lévis makes no allusion to his sending de la Pause; of that fact there can be no doubt. I am myself inclined to believe in the correctness of Knox's statement. "When," says Knox, "the bearer of this billet saw that the general had perused its contents he attempted to support the chevalier's complaint respecting the article alluded to; but his excellency commanded him to silence and told him he was fully resolved, for the infamous part of the troops of France had acted in exciting the savages to perpetrate the most horrid and unheard of barbarities in the whole progress of the war, and for other open treacheries as well as flagrant breaches of faith, to manifest to all the world by this capitulation his detestation of such ungenerous practices, and disapprobation of their conduct, therefore insisted he might decline any remonstrance on the subject." *

It was not until the 8th that de Vaudreuil sent his unconditional acceptance of the articles. †

De Lévis relates the cause of the delay. On his failure to obtain any modification of the terms from Amherst he directed de la Pause to see de Vaudreuil and to ask that the words "Canada" or "America" should be interlined. De Vaudreuil declined to make any such demand. Accordingly de Lévis, on the part of the officers, drew up a *mémoire* in which he stated that the terms offered by Amherst were inadmissible, being contrary to the interest of the King and dishonouring to the army.

He asked that the negotiations should be discontinued and that a vigorous defence should be resolved upon, although de

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* Knox, II., p. 418.

† De Vaudreuil wrote, "Je me suis determiné à accepter les conditions que propose votre Excellence."

Lévis adds with extremely disproportionate forces and with little hope of success. Should the marquis de Vaudreuil, however, determine to accept the conditions imposed, that the troops should be permitted to retire to Saint Helen's island and there sustain the honour of the King's army ; for they resolved to undergo every privation rather than submit to such dishonourable terms. De Vaudreuil's answer to this proposition, so opposed to all sense and reason that it is difficult to believe in its sincerity, was a positive order to de Lévis to conform to the capitulation. De Vaudreuil pointed out that the interest of the colony did not allow him to refuse the conditions of the English general, which were advantageous to the country.

The whole proceeding does not add to de Lévis' reputation. He must have seen, that the civil responsibility, of de Vaudreuil as governor, would not admit of the acceptance of any such desperate alternative. Moreover, that he himself was powerless to make the least resistance against the eighteen thousand disciplined troops by whom he was surrounded. De Lévis tells us that he had but twenty-four hundred men and little food. What opposition could he have made to the attack of Amherst's force under any conditions ?

There is the more serious charge against de Lévis of a departure from personal honour, in ordering his troops to burn the colours to spare them the hard conditions of delivering them to their enemies.

Amherst's account of what took place shews the meanness and want of honesty of this behaviour. Far better to yield under adverse circumstances one hundred standards, than for a gentleman to demean himself by a contemptible falsehood. De Lévis' theory of military honour cannot be held up for imitation, when, to preserve it, he condescended to wrong and misrepresentation, covering his delinquency by his assurance of his " word of honour " that he had not irregularly destroyed the standards, which in his journal he records with complacency he ordered to be committed to the flames.*

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* " M. le chevalier de Lévis voyant avec douleur que rien ne pouvoit faire

Amherst's report of what took place shews that he accepted this declaration as truth. He wrote to Pitt from Quebec on the 4th of October that ten French regiments had laid down their arms and had delivered up two colours taken from Pepperell's and Shirley's regiments at Oswego, "the marquis de Vaudreuil, generals and commanding officers of the regiments giving their words of honour that the Battalions had not any colours; they had brought them six years ago with them; they were torn to pieces, and, finding them troublesome in this country, they had destroyed them." † The non-production of the French colours did not, however, take place without remark or an expression of dissatisfaction at their absence. When Amherst received de Vaudreuil's acceptance of the terms offered, he replied by asking the articles to be returned signed by major Abercrombie, and expressed the desire to shew every consideration to the officers. He wished, he said, to carry out the conditions with good order and in good faith, and he had given the command to colonel Haldimand, who, he trusted, would be personally agreeable to the French to take possession of the gates of the city. There must have been some report by Haldimand of the non-delivery of the colours, for there is a letter from Amherst to Haldimand on the subject, written three days after the capitulation. Amherst wrote that their being withheld was an infraction of the capitulation, contrary to the laws of war, which he could not permit. Haldimand was directed to notify de Vaudreuil that the colours must be found, and if the refusal to deliver them up was persisted in, in Amherst's own justification he must order the baggage to be searched before it was embarked. Amherst hoped that the orders de Vaudreuil would give would make this search useless, and that those, who had felt themselves authorized to withhold the standards, would have

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changer la détermination de M. le marquis de Vaudreuil, voulant épargner aux troupes une partie de l'humiliation qu' elles alloient subir, leur ordonna de brûler leurs drapeaux pour se soustraire à la dure condition de les remettre aux ennemis."

Journal de Lévis, p. 308.

† Can. Arch., Series A. & W. I., 94, p. 145.

sufficient good faith to surrender them. Haldimand was instructed to make the necessary examination and report on the subject. There can be little doubt that it was on the information given to Haldimand, that the explanation, reported by Amherst to Pitt, was accepted by him.

The articles of capitulation were signed on the 8th of September.† Like those of Quebec they are drawn up only in French, no English signed copy being extant, and it is to the text in this form that reference must be had. No special privileges are granted in these conditions; they may be regarded as the acceptance of surrender by a conquered people. The troops were allowed the honours of war, but they had to lay down their arms, not to serve again during the war and be embarked as prisoners for France. A clause giving protection to deserters was refused. The demand that the Indians should be sent away after the articles were signed was refused, Amherst remarking "there has been no cruelty committed by our Indians and good order should be maintained." ‡

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* "Du Camp de Montreal ce 11^{e} Spr. 1760.

"J'ai aussi fait choix de deux autres Navires l'une pour M. le Chev^{r} de Lévis et sa Suite; Et l'autre pour les Ingenieurs et les Officiers de l'Etat Major; mais comme il m'a été fait plusieurs raports hier, Que les Drapeaux françois ont été vus depuis peu, Et que par Consequent le Refus qu'on vous en a fait est une Infraction à la Capitulation, contraire aux Lois de la Guerre, Et que Je ne sçaurois pour l'honneur du Roy mon Maitre souffrir, vous aurez la bonté de representer a M. Le M^{is} de Vaudreuil, Qu'il est necessaire que ses Drapeaux se trouvent, et que si on persiste dans le Refus déjà fait, Je serai pour ma propre Justification au Roy Contraint de faire Visiter tous les Baggages avant qu'ils soient embarqués. Mais Je me flatte que les Ordres qu'il donnera à Ceux qui sont sous son Commandement rendra cette Recherche inutile; et qu'après y avoir murement réflechi Ceux qui ont pu se croire autorisé à retenir ces Drapeaux auront assé [sic] de bonne foy de les rendre pour éviter des Suittes qui me seroient très Désagreables. Vous aurez la bonté de faire toutes les perquisitions necessaires à ce Sujet et de m'en faire Raport."

Amherst to Haviland, Series B. I., p. 126.

† These articles of capitulation are given at the end of the chapter. They are carefully copied from the Canadian Archives. As they appear they may be accepted as a literal transcript of the text in the imperial record office.

‡ The word "Moraigans" which appears in the 9th article remains a puzzle to this day. The text runs in the demand made by de Vaudreuil: "Le général Anglais s'engagera de renvoyer chez eux les sauvages, Indians et Moraigans." No explanation of this word has ever been given. The word occurs in two other

M. de Vaudreuil and the officers were promised every consideration. All were allowed to carry away their private papers, but the archives and maps of the country were to be left behind. It was asked that if peace was proclaimed matters should return to the condition in which they had been. Amherst declared that everything must depend on the orders of the king. Those who had business in the country with the permission of de Vaudreuil could remain until they had arranged their affairs. No mention on either side was made of the use of the French language. The free exercise of religion was granted ; the enforced payment of the *dîme* must depend on the king's will. The demand that the king of France should continue to name the Roman Catholic bishop was refused, as equally was the power to establish new parishes.

The nuns were maintained in their constitutions and principles. The same consideration to the male communities of the jesuits and Saint Sulpicians was reserved for the king's pleasure. These communities were allowed to retain their property with the right of disposing of their possessions and withdrawing with the money to France. In answer to the condition asked for by de Vaudreuil, that those who remained in the colony should not be liable to bear arms against the king of France or his allies, he was told that the Canadians became subjects of the king of Great Britain. No special provision was entertained with regard to the Acadians : the demand that they should be sent back to their lands was specially refused.

The remaining articles were the ordinary provisions made under circumstances of such surrender of a territory for the protection of the inhabitants, with the desire of granting them

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instances [N.Y. doc. X., p. 579] in a letter from de Vaudreuil to de Moras, Montreal, 12th July, 1757. "On the day following it went in hot pursuit, but could overtake only two Moraigans and one wounded Englishman. Our Indians were so furious that they tore one of the Moraigans to pieces." Likewise Pouchot [II., p. 223, translation] speaks of Rogers having "had a Moraigan Loup for a guide." In my limited reading I have not otherwise met the word, nor do I know any one who has done so.

fair and equitable terms. It might be said that the whole spirit of the conditions was embraced in the remark of Amherst to article 41, that the Canadians became the king's subjects.

On the morning following the settlement of the articles of capitulation, the 9th of September, a detachment of troops with artillery proceeded to the *place d'armes*, and as a military force occupied the town; the French regiments, one after the other, came upon the ground and laid down their arms, and returned to the camp on the ramparts, where they had been established. This ceremony over, a British force was sent to take possession of the gates, and guards were placed throughout the city. The British colours were now raised from the small fort which then stood at the east of Montreal, to shew that the last stronghold of French Canada had surrendered.

When the French regiments returned to their camp they were formed in line and reviewed by de Lévis. They amounted to 2,132 of all ranks.*

On the 11th Amherst turned out his whole force, and received de Vaudreuil on parade, the troops marching past. De Vaudreuil became on friendly terms with Amherst, and shewed him a letter written by Le Mercier, who had reached France on the 25th of December, in one of the vessels which had forced their way past Quebec. The minister had promised to send vessels with stores, some of which did eventually arrive in the bay of Chaleurs, and ascended the Restigouche; de Vaudreuil was called upon to defend the country until the

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* They are thus summarized by de Lévis [journal p. 315]:

Officers present	179	
Soldiers "	1,953	
		2,132
Officers returned to France	46	
Soldiers invalided	241	
		287
Total		2,419
Soldiers described as absent from their regiments		927
		3,346

proclamation of peace, which it was looked for would be made in August.

During the three following days the town was definitely occupied by the British, and the arrangements completed for the departure of the French troops. The regiments of Languedoc and Berri, with the marine corps, were embarked on the 13th; the regiment of Royal Rousillon and Guyenne on the 14th; on the 16th the regiment of La Reine and Béarn. On the 17th de Lévis, with de Bourlamaque, started for Quebec; de Vaudreuil and Bigot left on the 20th and 21st. By the 22nd every French soldier had left Montreal, except those who had married in the country, and who had resolved to remain in it, and transfer their allegiance to the new government.*

The provincial troops were at an early date sent from Montreal. The New Hampshire and Rhode Island regiments crossed the river, and proceeded to Chambly, thence went to Crown Point. The Connecticut troops were ordered to Oswego and fort Stanwix. The New York and New Jersey regiments to the lately named fort William Augustus, at the head of the rapids, and to Oswegatchie (Ogdensburg). Rogers, with four hundred men, bearing letters from de Vaudreuil instructing the forts to be given over, was sent to Detroit, Miami, Saint Joseph, and Michillimackinac.† Monckton at the same time received orders to send forward regular troops to take permanent possession of these forts.

After the departure of the troops on the 15th, de Lévis again addressed a letter to Amherst relative to the terms of the capitulation, asking to be excepted from the conditions of not serving during the war, stating that he had no hand in the barbarities and cruelties that had been committed. De Bourlamaque, on his own part, personally asked the same consideration. Amherst replied that he could make no change in the conditions granted, but if they so desired he would submit the request made by them to the king's ministers. Burton was appointed governor of Three Rivers, and Webb's 48th ordered to proceed to that place. As it was reported that some troops had lately arrived at the bay of Chaleurs, at the request of Amherst, de Vaudreuil sent an officer ordering them to lay down their arms. Major Elliott, in command of a detachment of the 43rd, accompanied him. Amherst also wrote to lord Colville, desiring him to send a ship of war with transports, to receive the French troops on their surrender.

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* The French troops were only able to leave Quebec on the 22nd and 25th of October. Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 95, p. 1.

† Rogers reached New York, on his return from Detroit, the following February. Owing to the setting in of winter he had been unable to proceed to the other forts. He reported that he had found one thousand Canadians in the neighbourhood of Detroit. Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 96.1, p. 219.

Elliott's detachment, consisting of 113 of all ranks of the 43rd, under the convoy of the frigate "Repulse," safely arrived at its destination. Dangac was in command of the French force of 193 in all. Although the orders of de Vaudreuil were imperative, that he should act upon the terms of the capitulation, he affected a hesitation ridiculous under the circumstances, and took forty-eight hours to consider what course he would follow. On the 30th of October the French laid down their arms and became prisoners of war. During the following week, Elliott was engaged in embarking three hundred and twenty-seven barrels of stores, wine, powder, and musket balls. There was a large quantity of blankets, coarse brown cloth, pork, port wine, rum and brandy. This property was taken in possession. The shot was thrown into the river; "five bad cannon" were on the battery, three 12-prs. and two 9-prs., as they could not be got on board the frigate, they were rendered useless and left behind.

Elliott described the settlement of the Restigouche as established at a spot where the water was so shallow that it could only be navigated by a canoe. It consisted of a scattered "parcel of log-houses in the midst of woods." There was no cleared ground, suggesting that the place was a colony of privateers. Of the thousand inhabitants, seven hundred were capable of bearing arms. Some hundred Micmacs were likewise encamped in the neighbourhood. Elliott made peace with the tribe, by giving them some blankets and burying the hatchet.

Captain Allen, of the "Repulse." carried back to Halifax the New England sloops which had been taken and brought in, and he obtained some provisions which were in the place. All that was useless he burned. Elliott's vessel, in the voyage homewards, lost the convoy, but succeeded in passing through the gut of Canso. The ship was caught in a violent storm, which prevailed for three days, and on the 14th of November she was driven a wreck on Sable island. Elliott was fortunate in putting his force on shore without the loss of a man. The detachment remained in this desert spot until the 9th of January, when relief appeared in the form of a vessel, which carried them to Halifax. Amherst permitted the men to remain here for some weeks to recruit their strength.*

The flute, the "Marie," a king's ship, had been given over to the navy, the guns were taken out, and the vessel sold to one Martin, on condition of his employing her in the transport of troops. She was fitted up to receive the marquis de Vaudreuil, his family and staff. On the departure of de Vaudreuil, the militia of the town and suburbs were called upon to take the oath of allegiance, and to give up their arms.†

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* Owing to the state of the stores on their landing on Sable island, with the feeling of the necessity of making the provisions last until May, the allowance was reduced to five ounces of flour and one gill of liquor for each man, with 4 lbs. of pork for six men per week, that is, half a pound of pork a man for the week. Subsequently, some horned cattle and horses were found on the island, which served as food. The men made dwellings of the yards and sails, and thatched them with the sedge of the island. "Our greatest Mortification," Elliott tells us, "was now to see Vessels very often Discover our Signals, but none had Charity enough to come to our Relief, till a small Schooner from Marble head Came, the 31st December, in search of some fishermen that were missing, saw my Signals and staid off the Island a week, till she could send her boat on shore, which was the 7th instant."

Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 96.1, p. 316.

† It was a new form of oath different to that which had been administered by Murray. It was generally taken throughout the three governments, and superseded the oath previously enforced at Quebec.

The text is given Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 94, p. 223:

"Je, , Jure que je serai Fidelle, Et que Je me comporterai honnetement Envers Sa Sacré Majesté George Second par La Grace de Dieu, Roy de La Grande Bretagne, de France et d'Irlande, Defenseur de La Foy; Et que Je defendrai Lui et Les siens, dans ce païs de tout mon pouvoir

The weather was commencing to be trying from the autumn rains, and the nights were cold. Haviland with his force, Whitmore's 17th and the 27th Inniskillings, returned to Crown Point. The troops detailed to remain in Montreal were established in their quarters. The French Indians in the neighbourhood were summoned to the city and requested to bring in their prisoners; they appeared with several men, women and children, and Johnson established rules and regulations for their future government As a final measure Gage was appointed governor of the district of Montreal, Burton having been sent to Three Rivers.

Matters now being accommodated, and peace and order established, Amherst passed across the island and visited île Jesus; the 25th and 26th he remained in Montreal. On the 27th he started for Three Rivers. As he descended the river he passed the vessel which had run aground, on which M. de Vaudreuil was a passenger. He arrived at Three Rivers on the 28th, and remained there the 29th and 30th. He visited the Saint Maurice forges, and was favourably impressed with their capacity. The following days he landed at Dechambeau and Jacques Cartier, in his journey passing several of the transports carrying the French troops delayed by contrary winds. On the 3rd of October he arrived at Quebec. He there saw lord Colville, who was on the point of ordering the "Northumberland," three ships of 50 guns, three frigates and two sloops to Halifax; the remainder of the fleet was to proceed to England.

At this period Amherst obtained a census of the population, which he reported at 76,172.*

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contre Tous ses Enemis où les Leurs; Et Je Jure en outre que je revelerai et ferai connoitre à Sa Majesté Son General ou à Ceux Agissant sous Lui autant qu'il dependra de Moy Tous Traitres ou Toutes Conspirations, qui pouroient être formé contre Sa Sacré Personne ce Païs ou Son Gouvernement."

* Amherst thus describes the three districts divided by parishes, viz.:

	Parishes.	Comp. Militia.	Number Militia.	Total of all souls.
Montreal	46	87	7,331	37,200
Three Rivers.. ...	19	19	1,105	6,388
Quebec..........	43	64	7,976	32,584
Total.......	108	170	16,412	76,172

Amherst did not remain long in Quebec. Indeed, the lateness of the season suggested an early departure if he was to ascend lake Champlain and thence to proceed to Albany. He left on the 5th for Crown Point, and on the 18th he was on lake Champlain. He gave instructions for the fortifications and barracks at île aux Noix to be razed, and the guns and ammunition to be brought away. From lake Champlain he made his way to Albany, which he left on the 21st, to arrive at New York on the 28th of October.

Amherst never subsequently visited Canada. The government was left in the hands of the officers he appointed, and he remained at his headquarters in New York until his

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The census must have been obtained through the French, and there is no ground for supposing that they would designedly furnish an incorrect statement. It does not, however, accord either with the previous or subsequent tables of population.

The population	in	1736	was	39,063
"	"	" 1737	"	39,970
"	"	" 1739	"	42,701
"	"	" 1754	"	55,009

In the fifteen years between the last two dates the population increased 12,300, something less than one-third. If we apply this increase to the next six years, we may be justified in estimating the increase at one-eighth, which would place the population at 62,000. It is not probable that in these six years of war the population could have increased upwards of 20,000, $^5/_{11}$ths, nearly a half of the former total.

In 1761, the three governors were called upon to furnish the census of their several districts. The reports were :

[Gage]	Montreal	24,957
[Burton]	Three Rivers	6,612
[Murray]	Quebec	30,211
	A total of	61,780

This census, with the various figures for the preceding twenty-five years, shew that the statement given to Amherst cannot be accepted as correct.

Murray relates, that at Quebec there were " 1,788 strangers having no settlement," doubtless, arrivals from the northern British provinces, who, in the spirit of adventure, had found their way to the city after the conquest in 1759.

I am inclined therefore to estimate the French population of Canada in 1760 at 60,000 souls, the number which hitherto has been generally accepted, as correctly representing it.

I have to allude to this subject when the condition of Canada during the interregnum is considered.

departure for England in 1763. It will be my duty to investigate the character of the government which he established on his departure.

The narrative of the events of the campaign has interfered with the mention of what took place in July in the bay of Chaleurs. Early in the month a chief of the Richibucto Indians, who had made peace with governor Lawrence, gave information that there was a considerable French force at Miramichi, and that several ships of war had entered the bay of Chaleurs. On the report reaching Whitmore, at Louisbourg, he addressed a letter to commodore Byron on the subject.* Byron at once put to sea in the "Fame," with the "Achilles," "Dorchester," "Repulse," and "Scarborough." Owing to bad weather the "Fame" parted company with the other ships, and was the first to arrive at the place indicated. There was an armed schooner in these waters, carrying six carriage guns and ten swivels. Byron attacked her with his boats near point Goacha,† as he writes. The vessel was taken, but the crew of forty-seven escaped to the woods. Byron in his barges ascended the Restigouche, and after rowing four or five leagues obtained a view of the remaining ships. Sounding the channel, Byron ascended in the "Fame" within three leagues of the enemy's first battery, which was regularly constructed. On the following day in endeavouring to reach the spot the "Fame" ran aground. After nine or ten hours' work, by aid of the schooner which carried out the small bower anchor with two cables, she was again got afloat. The next day the other vessels came up. The "Fame" was enabled to approach the first battery after running repeatedly out of the channel; her guns were brought upon the French defences, when those who were working the battery abandoned it. Byron landed his men, destroyed the battery and burned the settlement, consisting of two hundred houses. In the meantime the French vessels advanced higher up the Restigouche. The frigates were accordingly lightened to follow them. The French warped their vessels as far in shore as they were able, and had erected batteries for their protection. The British ships were pulled forward by warps with the men in boats, although exposed to a hot fire. In about an hour the French ships struck. The frigate, the "Machault," was mounted with thirty 12-prs.: she was blown up by the French. There were two large *lettres de marque* store ships, and twenty-two vessels, most of them with valuable cargoes. They were set on fire to prevent them being taken as prizes. The French estimated that they experienced a loss of £300,000, independently of the destruction of the settlement. Sixty prisoners were also released; they had been taken by the privateers from Miramichi out of coasting vessels passing between the lower ports and Quebec. Byron set on fire a small vessel belonging to New England which was retaken, as it could not be brought away; unfortunately six of his men were lost in the conflagration. The British had four killed and nine wounded independently of this number. The French had about thirty killed and wounded. The French ships contained between three and four hundred regular troops, and about one thousand Canadians. On the destruction of the ships, the whole took to the woods. The intention was, no doubt, to forward their provisions and stores as best they were able to Montreal. The success of Byron's expedition inflicted great damage in every respect, both in the loss of provisions, stores, and many articles required in the colony, further destroying the prestige of the privateers: a loss the more felt from the desperate condition in which the province was placed. Le Blanc, a noted privateer captain, had arrived from Miramichi with nine vessels the day before the appearance of the "Fame." All his ships were therefore destroyed. He had been very mischievous in the coasting trade; but the defeat in these waters put it out of his power to give trouble hereafter.*

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* Commodore the hon. John Byron, grandfather of the poet, was both an excellent seaman and a man of unusual ability. Among the sailors he was known as "Foul weather Jack," for he never made a voyage without experiencing a tempest. In his youth he had been a midshipman in Anson's expedition, on board the "Wager," which was wrecked on a desert island to the southward of the island of Chiloe on the coast of Patagonia. The captain in no way commanded either the respect or love of the men; and in this desperate position a mutiny broke out, which ended with the remainder of the crew, for many had been drowned, taking the long boat and attempting to pass through the straits of Magellan. They left behind, the captain, lieutenant, surgeon, and two midshipmen, one of whom was Byron. The crew did, strange to relate, reach the Rio Grande, in Brazil. One of the officers succumbed to the privations suffered by him; the remaining four, after great hardship, succeeded in arriving at the Spanish settlements in Chili. In 1768, Byron published a narrative describing the "distresses suffered by himself and his companions on the coast of Patagonia, from the year 1740 till their arrival in England in 1746." After the peace, in 1764, Byron was sent on a voyage of discovery to the South Seas, and as an admiral he was actively engaged during the contest of the American war. He died in 1786.

† The sound suggests Point Joachim. but I cannot learn that any place is now known by that name.

The attack was most spirited; and although conducted under every disadvantage, from the want of knowledge of the channels and the continual danger of running aground, no unfavourable consequence was experienced. The good seamanship of the British calls for the highest commendation. The important results attained in sweeping away the nest of privateers was of the highest service in freeing the New England coasting trade from interference and attack. After this chastisement, we do not hear of further attempts of this character.

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* Colville to Pitt, 12th September, 1790, enclosing letter of commodore Byron. Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 93.2, p. 593.

The articles of capitulation are here given literally, as they appear in the Record office, London, being copied from the text in the Canadian Archives, Series A. & W. I., 93.2, pp. 561–592.

Articles de Capitulation Entre Son Excellence Le Général Amherst, Commandant en Chef Les Troupes & Forces de Sa Majesté Britanique En L'Amérique Septentrionale

ET

Son Excellence le M^{is} de Vaudreuil, Grand Croix de L'Ordre Royal et Militaire de S^t. Louis, Gouverneur et Lieutenant Général pour Le Roi en Canada.

Art. 1er.

Tout la Garnison. de Montréal doit mettre bas les Armes, Et ne servira point pendant la présente Guerre ; immédiatement après la Signature de la présente, les Troupes du Roy prendront possession des Portes et posteront les Gardes nécessaires pour maintenir le bon Ordre dans La Ville.	Vingt-quatre heures après La Signature de la Présente Capitulation, Le Général Anglois fera prendre par Les Troupes de Sa Majesté Britanique, Possession des Portes de La Ville de Montréal, et La Garnison Angloise ne poura y Entrer qu'après L'Evacuation des Troupes Françoises.

Art. 2.

	Les Troupes et les Milices qui seront en Garnison dans La Ville de Montréal, En Sortiront Par la Porte de......... avec tous les honneurs de la Guerre, Six pièces de Canon, Et Un Mortier qui seront Chargés dans Le Vaisseau où Le Marquis de Vaudreuil Embarquera avec dix Coups à tirer par pièce. Il en sera Usé de même pour la Garnison des trois Rivières pour les honneurs de la Guerre.

Art. 3.

Toutes ces Troupes ne doivent servir pendant la Présente Guerre et mettront pareillement les Armes bas, le Reste est accordé.	Les Troupes et Milices qui seront en Garnison dans le Fort de Jacques Cartier, Et dans L'Isle S^{te} Hélène, & autres Forts, seront traitté de même, Et auront les mêmes honneurs ; Et ces Troupes se rendront à Montréal, ou aux 3 Rivières, ou à Québec pour y Estre toutes Embarquées pour le premier port de Mer en France, par le plus court Chemin. Les troupes qui sont dans nos postes Situés sur Nos Frontières, du

	Costé de L'Accadie, au Détroit, Michilimakinac, et Autres postes, Jouiront des mêmes honneurs et seront Traittées de même.
	Art. 4.
Accordé.	Les Milices, après Estre sorties des Villes et des Forts, et Postes cy dessus, retourneront Chez Elles, sans pouvoir Estre Inquiéttées, sous quelque prétexte que ce soit, pour avoir porté Les Armes.
	Art. 5.
Ces Troupes doivent, comme les Autres, mettre bas les Armes.	Les Troupes qui Tiennent la Campagne Lèveront leur Camp, Marcheront, Tambour battant, Armes, bagages, Et avec leur Artillerie, pour se joindre à La Garnison de Montréal, Et auront en tout le même Traitement.
	Art. 6.
Refusé.	Les Sujets de Sa Majesté Britanique Et de Sa Majesté Très Chrétienne, Soldats, Miliciens, ou Matelots, qui auront Désertés, ou Laissée Le Service de leur Souverain, Et porté Les Armes dans L'Amérique Septentrionale, Seront de part Et d'autre Pardonés de leur Crime; Ils seront respectivement rendus à leur Patrie, Sinon Ils resteront chacun où Ils sont, sans qu'ils puissent Estre recherchés ni Inquiétés.
	Art. 7.
C'est tout ce qu'on peut demander sur Cette Article.	Les Magazins, L'Artillerie, Fusils, Sabres, Munitions de Guerre et généralement tout ce qui apartient à S. M. T. C. Tant dans les Villes de Montréal et 3 Rivières, que dans les Forts et Postes mentionés en L'Article 3. Seront Livrés par des Inventaires Exacts, aux Comissaires qui seront Préposés pour les recevoir au Nom de S. M. B. Il sera remis au M^{is} de Vaudreuil des Expéditions en bonne forme des d: Inventaire.

Art. 8.

Les Officiers, Soldats, Miliciens, Matelots, et même Les Sauvages détenus pour Cause de leurs Blessures, ou Maladie, tant dans les hospitaux que dans les maisons Particulières, Jouiront des privilèges du Cartel et Traittés Conséquament.

Les Malades et Blessés seront Traité de même que nos propre Gens.

Art. 9.

Le Général Anglois S'Engagera de renvoyer chez Eux Les Sauvages, Indiens, Et Moraïgans qui font Nombre de Ses Armées, d'abord après La Signature de La présente Capitulation. Et, Cependant, pour prévenir tous désordres de la Part de Ceux qui ne Seroient pas partis, Il sera donné Par Ce Général des Sauve : Gardes aux Personnes qui En demanderont, tant En Ville que dans les Campagnes.

Le premier Refusé Il n'y a point eu de Cruautés Commises par les Sauvages de Notre Armée : Et le bon Ordre sera maintenu.

Art. 10.

Le Général de Sa Majesté Britanique garantira tous désordres de la part de Ses Troupes ; Les assujettira à Payer les domages qu'Elles pouroient faire, tant dans les Villes que dans les Campagnes.

Répondu par L'Article précédent.

Art. 11.

Le Général Anglois ne poura obliger Le M^{is} de Vaudreuil de Sortir de la Ville de Montréal avant le......... Et on ne poura Loger Personne dans Son hôtel Jusques à son départ.

M. le Che^{r} Lévis, Commandant Les Troupes de Terre, Les Officiers Principaux Et Majors des Troupes de Terre et de la Colonie, Les Ingénieurs, Officiers d'Artillerie, Et Comissaire des Guerres, resteront pareillement à Montréal Jusqu'au d. jour Et y conserveront leurs Logemens. Il En sera Usé de même à L'Egard de M. Bigot, Intendant, des Comissaires de la Marine Et

Le marquis de Vaudreuil Et tous ces Messieurs seront Maîtres de leurs Maisons, et s'Embarqueront dès que les Vaisseaux du Roy seront prêts à faire Voile pour l'Europe : Et on leur accordera toutes les Commodités qu'on pourra.

	Officiers de plume, dont mon d: S Bigot aura besoin Et on ne poura Egalement Loger personne à L'Intendance avant Le départ de cet Intendant.
	Art. 12.
Accordé ; Excepté les Archives qui pourront Etre nécessaires pour le Gouvernement du païs.	Il sera destiné, pour le passage en droiture au premier Port de Mer en france du M^{is} de Vaudreuil, Le Vaisseau Le plus Comode qui se trouvera : Il y sera Pratiqué Les Logemens Nécessaires pour Lui, Mad^{e} la Marquise de Vaudreuil, M. de Rigaud, Gouverneur de Montréal, Et La Suitte de ce Général. Ce Vaisseau sera Pourvu de Subsistances Convenables aux dépens de Sa M^{té} Britanique, Et Le M^{is} de Vaudreuil Emportera avec Lui Ses papiers sans qu'ils puissent Estre Visités, Et Il Embarquera Ses Equipages, Vaisselle, bagages Et Ceux de Sa Suitte.
	Art. 13.
Ce que le Roy pouroit avoir fait à ce sujet sera Obéï.	Si, Avant ou Après l'Embarquement du M^{is} de Vaudreuil, La Nouvelle de la paix arrivoit, Et que Par Le Traitté Le Canada resta à Sa M^{té} T. C., Le M^{is} de Vaudreuil reviendroit à Québec ou à Montréal, Toutes Choses rentreroient dans leur premier Estat sous la domination de Sa M^{té} T. C. Et La présente Capitulation deviendroit Nulle et sans Effet quelconques.
	Art. 14.
Accordé, Excepté que M. le M^{is} de Vaudreuil et Tous les Officiers, de quelque Rang qu'ils puissent être, Nous remettrons de bonne foy toutes les Cartes et plans du Pais.	Il sera destiné deux Vaisseaux pour le Passage En France de M. Le Che^{r} de Lévis, des Officiers principaux Et Estat Major Général des Troupes de Terre, Ingénieurs, Officiers d'Artillerie, Et Gens qui sont à leur Suitte Ces Vaisseaux seront Egalement pourvûs de Subsistance ; Il y Sera pratiqué Les Logemens nécessaires Ces Officiers pouront Emporter leurs papiers, qui ne seront point Visités, Leurs Equipages et Pagages.

	Ceux de Ces Officiers qui seront Mariés auront La Liberté d'Emener avec Eux leurs Femmes et Enfans Et La Subsistance leur Sera fournie.
	Art. 15.
Accordé, avec la même réserve que par l'Article précédent.	Il en sera même destiné un pour Le passage de M. Bigot, Intendant, Et de Sa Suitte, dans lequel Vaisseau Il sera fait les aménagemens convenables pour lui Et les personnes qu'il Emmènera. Il y Embarquera Egalement Ses papiers, qui ne Seront point Visités, ses Equipages, Vaisselle et bagages et Ceux de Sa Suitte. Ce Vaisseau sera pourvû de Subsistances Comme Il est dit Cy devant.
	Art. 16.
Accordé.	Le Général Anglois fera aussi fournir pour M. de Longueuil, Gouverneur de 3 Rivières, pour Les Estats Majors de La Colonie Et Les Comissaires de La Marine, Les Vaisseaux nécessaires pour se rendre En france Et le plus comodément qu'il sera possible ; Ils pouront y Embarquer Leurs Familles, Domestiques, bagages et Equipages, Et la Subsistance leur Sera fournie pendant la Traversée sur un pied Convenable, aux dépens de Sa M^{té} Britanique.
	Art. 17.
Accordé.	Les Officiers et Soldats, Tant des Troupes de Terre que de La Colonie, ainsi que les Officiers Marins et Matelots qui se trouveront dans la Colonie, seront aussi Embarqués pour France dans les Vaisseaux qui leur Seront destinés En Nombre Sufisant et le plus comodément que faire se pourra. Les Officiers de Troupes et Marins, qui seront Mariés, pouront Emmener avec Eux leurs Familles, Et tous auront La Liberté d'Embarquer leurs Domestiques Et Bagages, Quant aux Soldats et Matelots, Ceux qui seront Mariés

	pouront Emmener avec Eux Leurs Femmes et Enfans, Et tous Embarqueront leurs havre-Sacs et Bagages. Il sera Embarqué dans ces Vaisseaux Les Subsistances, Convenables et sufisantes aux dépens de Sa M^{té} Britanique.
	Art. 18.
Accordé.	Les Officiers, Soldats et tous Ceux qui sont à la Suitte des Troupes, qui auront leurs Bagages dans les Campagnes pouront les Envoyer Chercher avant leur départ, Sans qu'il leur Soit fait aucun Tort ni Empeschement.
	Art. 19.
Accordé.	Il sera fourni par Le Général Anglois un Bâtiment d'hôpital pour ceux des Officiers, Soldats & Matelots blessés ou Malades qui seront En Estat d'Estre transportés En france, Et la Subsistance Leur Sera Egalement fournie aux dépens de Sa M^{té} Britanique. Il en sera Usé de Même à L'Egard des autres Officiers, Soldats et Matelots blessés ou Malades, aussitôt qu'ils seront rétablis. Les uns et les autres pouront Emmener Leurs Femmes, Enfans, Domestiques et Bagages, Et les d : Soldats et Matelots ne pouront Etre Sollicités ni forcés à prendre parti dans Le Service de Sa M^{té} Britannique.
	Art. 20.
Accordé.	Il Sera Laissé un Comissaire et un Ecrivain de Roy pour avoir Soin des hôpitaux Et Veiller à tout ce qui aura raport au Service de S. M^{té} Très Chrétienne.
	Art. 21.
Accorde, mais s'ils ont des papiers qui concernent le Gouvernement du païs, Ils doivent Nous les remettre.	Le Général Anglois fera Egalement fournir de Vaisseaux pour Le Passage en france des Officiers du Conseil Supérieur, de Justice, Police, de L'Amirauté et tous Autres Officiers ayant

Comissions ou Brevets de Sa M^té^ Très Chrétienne. pour Eux, leurs Familles, Domestiques et Equipages, Comme Pour les Autres Officiers, Et La Subsistance leur Sera fournie de même aux dépens de Sa M^té^ Britanique. Il leur sera Cependant Libre de rester dans la Colonie, S'ils Le Jugent à propos, pour y arranger Leurs affaires, ou de Se retirer En france, quand bon Leur Semblera.

Art. 22.

S'il y a des Officiers Militaires dont les Affaires Exigent leurs présence dans la Colonie Jusqu'à l'Année Prochaine, Ils pouront y rester après En avoir eu La Permission du M^is^ de Vaudreuil Et sans qu'ils puissent Estre reputés Prisoniers de Guerre.

Tous ceux dont les Affaires Particulières exigent qu'ils restent dans le pais Et qui en ont la permission de M. de Vaudreuil, seront permis de rester Jusqu'à ce que leurs Affaires soient terminées.

Art. 23.

Il sera Permis au Munitionaire des Vivres du Roy de demeurer en Canada Jusqu'à L'Année prochaine pour Estre En Estat de faire face aux dettes qu'il a Contractées dans La Colonie relativement à Ses fournitures; Si néantmoins Il préfère de passer En france cette Année, Il sera obligé de Laisser Jusques à L'Année prochaine une Personne pour faire Ses Affaires. Ce particulier Conservera et poura Emporter tous Ses papiers Sans Estre Visités. Ses commis auront La Liberté de rester dans La Colonie ou de Passer en France, Et, dans ce dernier Cas, Le Passage Et le Subsistance leur Seront Accordés sur les Vaisseaux de Sa M^té^ Britannique pour Eux, leurs familles, et leurs bagages.

Accordé.

Art. 24.

Les Vivres et Autres aprovisionement qui se trouveront En Nature dans les Magasins du Munitionnaire, Tant dans les Villes de Montréal, et des 3 Rivières, que dans les Campagnes,

Tout ce qui se trouve dans les Magasins destinés à l'Usage des Troupes doit être délivré au Commissaire Anglois pour les Troupes du Roy.

	Lui seront Conservés Les d : Vivres lui appartenant et Non au Roy, Et Il lui sera Loisible de les Vendre aux françois ou aux Anglois.
Accordé.	Art. 25. Le Passage en france sera Egalement accordé sur les Vaisseaux de Sa Mté Britanique, ainsi que la Subsistance, à ceux des Officiers de la Compagnie des Indes qui Voudront y passer Et Ils Emmèneront leurs familles, domestiques et bagages. Sera permis à L'Agent principal de la de Compagnie, Supposé qu'il Voulût Passer en france, de Laisser telle Personne qu'il Jugera à propos Jusques à L'Année prochaine, pour terminer les Affaires de la d. Compie : Et faire le recouvrement des Sommes qui lui sont dues, L'Agent principal Conservera tous les Papiers de la de Compagnie, Et Ils ne pouront Estre Visité.
Accordé, pour ce qui peut appartenir à la Compagnie ou aux Particuliers, mais Si Sa Majesté Très Chrétienne y a aucune part, Elle doit être au profit du Roy.	Art. 26. Cette Compagnie Sera Maintenue dans la Propriété des Ecarlatines et Castors qu'elle peut Avoir dans La Ville de Montréal ; Il n'y Sera point touché, Sous quelque Prétexte que ce soit, Et Il Sera donné à L'Agent Principal les facilités Nécessaires pour faire passer Cette Année En france Ses Castors Sur les Vaisseaux de Sa Mté Britanique, En payant le fret sur le pied que les Anglois le Payeroient.
Accordé pour le Libre Exercise de leur Religion ; L'Obligation de payer la Dixme aux Prêtres, dépendra de la Volonté du Roy.	Art. 27. Le Libre Exercise de la Religion Catholique Apostolique et Romaine Subsistera En Son Entier, En Sorte que tous Les Estats et les peuples des Villes et des Campagnes, Lieux et postes Eloignés pouront Continuer de S'Assembler dans les Eglises Et de fréquenter les Sacramens, comme cy

devant, Sans Estre Inquiétés En aucune manière, directement ni Indirectement.

Ces peuples seront Obligés par le Gouvernement Anglois à Payer aux Prêtres qui en Prendront Soin, Les dixmes Et tous les droits qu'ils avoient coutume de payer sous le Gouvernement de Sa M^{té} Très Chrétienne.

Art. 28.

Accordé.

Le Chapitre, Les Prestres, Curés et Missionnaires Continueront avec Entière Liberté leurs Exercices et fonctions Curiales dans les Paroisses des Villes des Campagnes.

Art. 29.

Accordé, Excepté ce qui regarde l'Article Suivant.

Les Grands Vicaires, només par le Chapitre pour administrer le Diocèse pendant la Vacance du Siège Episcopal, pouront demeurer dans les Villes ou paroisses des Campagnes, Suivant qu'ils le Jugeront à propos. Ils pouront En tout Temps Visiter les différentes paroisses du Diocèse avec les Cérémonies Ordinaires Et Exercer toute La Jurisdiction qu'ils Exerçoient sous la domination françoise. Ils Jouiront des mêmes droits En Cas de mort du futur Evesque dont Il sera parlé à L'Article Suivant.

Art. 30.

Refusé.

Si, par Le Traitté de paix, Le Canada restoit au pouvoir de Sa M^{té} Britanique, Sa M^{té} Très Chrétienne, continueroit à Nomer L'Evesque de La Colonie, qui seroit toujours de la Communion Romaine, et Sous L'Autorité duquel les peuples Exerceroient La Religion Romaine.

Art. 31.

Cet Article est compris sous le précédent.

Poura Le Seigneur Evesque Etablir, dans le besoin, de Nouvelles Paroisses Et pourvoir au rétablissement de Sa

	Cathédrale Et de Son Palais Episcopal, Et Il Aura En Attendant, la Liberté de demeurer dans les Villes ou Paroisses, comme Il le Jugera à propos. Il poura Visiter son Diocèse avec les Cérémonies Ordinaires, Et Exercer toute La Jurisdiction que son Prédécesseur Exerçoit sous la domination françoise, sauf à Exiger de Lui Le Serment de fidélité, ou Promesse de ne rien faire, ni rien dire Contre Le Service de Sa Mté Britanique.
Accordé.	Art. 32. Les Communautés de filles Seront Conservées dans leurs Constitutions et Privilèges. Elles Continueront d'observer leurs règles. Elles seront Exemptes du Logement de Gens de Guerre Et Il Sera fait déffenses de Les Troubler dans Les Exercices de piété qu'Elles pratiquent, ni d'Entrer chez Elles ; On leur donnera même des Sauve Gardes, Si Elles En demandent.
Refusé Jusqu'à ce que le plaisir du Roy soit connu.	Art. 33. Le Précédent Article sera pareillement Exécuté à L'Egard des Communautés des Jésuites Et Récolets Et de la Maison des Prêtres de St Sulpice à Montréal, les derniers et Les Jesuites Conserveront Le droit qu'ils ont de Nomer à Certaines Cures et Missions, Comme Cy devant.
Accordé.	Art. 34. Toutes les Communautés, Et tous les Prestres Conserveront Leurs Meubles, La Proprieté Et L'Usufruit des Seigneuries, Et autres biens que les uns et les autres possèdent dans la Colonie, de quelque Nature qu'ils soient Et Les d: biens seront Conservés dans leurs Privilèges, droits, honneurs et Exemptions.

Art. 35.

Si Les Chanoines Prestres, Missionnaires, Les Prestres du Seminaire des Missions Etrangères Et de S^t Sulpice, ainsi que les Jésuites et Les Récolets Veulent passer En france, Le passage leur sera accordé sur les Vaisseaux de Sa Majesté Britanique, Et tous auront la Liberté de Vendre En total ou partie Les biens fonds Et Mobiliers qu'ils possèdent dans la Colonie, soit aux françois, ou aux Anglois, sans que le Gouvernement Britanique puisse y mettre le moindre empeschement ni obstacle.

Ils pouront Emporter avec Eux ou faire passer En france Le Produit, de quelque Nature qu'il soit, des d^s biens Vendus, en Payant le fret, Comme Il est dit à L'Article 26 Et ceux d'Entre Ces Prestres qui Voudront Passer Cette Année Seront Nouris pendant La Traversée aux dépens de Sa M^{té} Britannique Et pouront Emporter avec Eux leurs bagages.

Ils seront les Maîtres de disposer de leurs biens et d'en passer le produit, ainsi que leurs personnes et tout ce qui leur appartient, En france.

Art. 36.

Si par Le Traitté de Paix, le Canada reste à Sa M^{té} Britanique, Tous les François, Canadiens, Accadiens, Comerçant, Et Autres Personnes qui Voudront se retirer En france, En Auront la Permission du Général Anglois, qui leur procurera le passage Et Néantmoins, Si, d'icy à cette décision, Il se trouvoit des Comerçans françois ou Canadiens, ou autres Personnes qui Voulussent passer En France, Le Général Anglois Leur En donneroit Egalement la Permission. Les uns et les autres Emmèneront avec Eux leurs familles domestiques et bagages.

Accordé.

Art. 37.

Les Seigneurs de Terres, Les Officiers militaires Et de Justice, Les

Accordé comme par L'Article 26.

	Canadiens, Tant des Villes que des Campagnes, Les françois Etablis ou Comerçant dans toute L'Etendue de la Colonie de Canada Et Toutes Autres Personnes que ce puisse Estre, Conserveront L'Entière paisible propriété et possession de leurs biens Seigneuriaux et Roturiers, Meubles et Immeubles, Marchandises, Pelleteries, Et autres effets, même de Leurs bâtiments de mer ; Il n'y sera point touché ni fait le moindre domage, sous quelque prétexte que ce soit : Il leur Sera Libre de les Conserver, Louer, Vendre, soit aux François ou aux Anglois, d'En emporter Le produit En Lettres de Change, Pelleteries Espèces Sonantes ou autres retours, Lorsqu'ils Jugeront à Propos de passer en france, En payant le fret Comme à L'Article 26. Ils Jouiront aussi des pelleteries qui sont dans les postes d'Enhaut, & qui leur appartiennent, Et qui peuvent même Estre En Chemin de se rendre à Montréal ; Et, à cet Effet, Il leur Sera permis d'Envoyer dès cette Annèe, ou la prochaine, des Canots Equipés pour Chercher Celles de ces pelleteries qui auront restées dans ces postes.
	Art. 38.
C'est au Roy à disposer de Ses Anciens Sujets, en Attendant, Ils Jouiront des mêmes privilèges que les Canadiens.	Tous les Peuples Sortis de L'Accadie, qui se trouveront en Canada, y compris les frontières du Canada, du Costé de L'Accadie, auront Le même Traitement que Les Canadiens, et Jouiront des mêmes privilèges qu'Eux.
	Art. 39.
Accordé, Excepté à l'Egard des Acadiens.	Aucuns Canadiens, Accadiens, ni François, de Ceux qui sont présentement en Canada, et sur les frontières de la Colonie du costé de L'Accadie, du Détroit, de Michilimakinac et Autres Lieux et Postes des pays d'Enhaut, ni les Soldats mariés et non mariés restant en Canada,

	ne pouront Estre portés, ni Transmigrés dans les Colonies Angloises, ni En L'Ancienne Angleterre, Et Ils ne pouront estre recherchés pour avoir pris Les Armes.
	Art. 40.
Accordé, à la reserve du dernier Article qui a déjà été refusé.	Les Sauvages ou Indiens Alliés de Sa M^{té} très Chrétienne Seront maintenus dans Les Terres qu'ils habitent, S'ils veulent y rester ; Ils ne pouront Estre Inquiétés sous quelque prétexte que ce puisse Estre pour avoir pris les Armes et Servi Sa M^{té} très Chrétienne. Ils auront comme les François, la Liberté de Religion et Conserveront leurs Missionnaires, Il sera permis aux Vicaires généraux Actuels Et à L'Evêque, lorsque Le Siège Episcopal Sera rempli, de leur Envoyer de Nouveaux Missionnaires Lorsqu'ils le Jugeront Nécessaire.
	Art. 41.
Ils deviennent Sujets du Roy.	Les François, Canadiens, Et Accadiens, qui resteront dans La Colonie, de quelque Estat Et Condition qu'ils Soient, ne Seront, ni ne Pouront Estre forcés à prendre les Armes Contre Sa M^{té} très Chrétienne, ni Ses alliés, directement, ni Indirectement, dans quelque Occasion que ce soit, Le Gouvernement Britanique ne poura Exiger d'Eux qu'Une Exacte Neutralité.
	Art. 42.
Répondu par les Articles précédents, et particulièrement par le dernier.	Les François et Canadiens continueront, d'Estre Gouverner Suivant La Coutume de Paris Et les Loix et Usages Etablis pour ce pays ; Et Ils ne pouront Estre Assujettis à d'autres Impôts qu'a Ceux qui Etoient Etablis sous la domination Françoise.
	Art. 43.
Accordé avec la réserve déjà faite.	Les papiers du Gouvernement reste-

.	ront, sans Exception au pouvoir du M^{is} de Vaudreuil, Et passeront en france avec lui. Ces Papiers ne pourront Estre Visités, sous quelque prétexte que ce soit.
	Art. 44.
Il en est de même de cet Article.	Les papiers de L'Intendance, des Bureaux du Contrôle de La Marine, des Trésoriers Ancien et Nouveau, des Magazins du Roy, du Bureau du Domaine Et des forges S^t Maurice; resteront au pouvoir de M. Bigot, Intendant, Et Ils Seront Embarqués pour france dans le Vaisseau où Il Passera. Ces Papiers ne Seront point Visités.
	Art. 45.
Accordé.	Les Registres Et Autres Papiers du Conseil Supérieur de Québec, de la Prévôté Et Amirauté de la Même Ville, Ceux des Jurisdictions Royales des trois Rivières Et de Montréal, Ceux des Jurisdictions Seigneuriales de La Colonie; Les Minutes des Actes des Notaires des Villes et des Campagnes. Et généralement Les Actes & Autres papiers que peuvent Servir à Justifier l'Estat et la fortune des Citoyens, resteront dans La Colonie dans les Greffes des Jurisdictions dont ces papiers dépendent.
	Art. 46.
Accordé.	Les Habitans et Négocians Jouiront de tous les Privilèges du Comerce aux mêmes faveurs, Et Conditions accordées aux Sujets de Sa Majesté Britanique, tant dans les Pays d'Enhaut que dans L'Intérieur de La Colonie.
	Art. 47.
Accordé, Excepté Ceux qui auront étés faits Prisonniers.	Les Nègres et Païns des deux Sexes resteront En leur qualité d'Esclaves, en la possession des françois et Canadiens à qui ils Apartiennent, Il leur Sera

libre de les garder à leur Service dans la Colonie, ou de les Vendre, Et Ils pouront aussi Continuer à les faire Elever dans la Religion Romaine.

Art. 48.

Accordé.

Il sera permis au M^{is} de Vaudreuil, aux Officiers généraux Et Supérieurs des Troupes de Terre, aux Gouverneurs Et Etat Majors des différentes places de la Colonie, aux Officiers Militaires et de Justice, Et à toutes Autres Personnes qui Sortiront de la Colonie, ou qui en sont déjà Absents, de Nommer et Etablir des Procureurs pour Agir pour Eux Et en leur Nom Dans l'administration de leurs biens Meubles et Immeubles, Jusqu'à ce que la Paix Soit faite Et si, par le Traitte des deux Courones, Le Canada ne rentre Point Sous La Domination française, Ces Officiers, ou autres Personnes ou Procureurs pour Eux, auront L'agrément de Vendre leurs Seignieuries, Maisons, et Autres biens fonds, Leurs Meubles et Effets, &c. d'en Emporter ou faire passer Le produit en france, soit En, Lettres de Change, Espèces Sonantes, Pelleteries ou autres Retours, Comme Il est dit à L'Article 37.

Art. 49.

Accordé.

Les habitans et Autres Personnes qui auront Soufert quelque domage En leurs biens, Meubles ou Immeubles restés à Québec Sous la foy de la Capitulation de cette Ville, pouront faire leurs représentations au Gouvernement Britanique qui leur rendra La Justice, que leur Sera düe Contre qui il apartiendra.

Art. 50 (et dernier).

Accordé.

La présente Capitulation Sera Inviolablement Exécutée En tous Ses

Articles, de part Et d'autre et de bonne foy, Non obstant toute Infraction et tout autre Prétexte par Raport aux Précédentes Capitulations, Et Sans pouvoir Servir de représailles.

P.S.

Art. 51.

Le Général Anglois S'Engagera, En Cas qu'il reste des Sauvages après La Redition de Cette Ville, à Empêcher qu'ils n'Entrent dans Les Villes et qu'ils n'Insultent En Aucune Manière, Les Sujets de Sa M^té^ Très Chrétienne.

On Aura Soin que les Sauvages n'insultent aucun des Sujets de Sa Majesté Très Chrétienne.

Art. 52.

Les Troupes et Autres Sujets de Sa M^té^ Très Chrétienne, qui doivent Passer En france, Seront Embarquées Quinze Jours au plus tard, après La Signature de la Présente Capitulation.

Répondu par l'Article 11.

Art. 53.

Les Troupes Et Autres Sujets de Sa M^té^ Tres Chrétienne, qui devront passer En France, resteront Logées, ou Campées dans la Ville de Montréal Et Autres Postes qu' Elles occupent Présentement, Jusqu'au Moment ou Elles Seront Embarquées pour le départ. Il sera néantmoins Accordé des Passe Ports à ceux qui En auront besoin, pour Les différents Lieux de la Colonie pour aller Vaquer à leurs Affaires.

Accordé.

Art. 54.

Tous les Officiers et Soldats des Troupes au Service de France qui sont Prisonniers à la Nouvelle-Angleterre, et faits En Canada, Seront renvoyés Le Plustost qu'il Sera possible En france où Il Sera traitté de leur Rançon, ou Echange, Suivant Le Cartel ; Et, Si quelques Uns de Ces officiers avoient

Accordé.

	des Affaires en Canada, Il leur Sera Permis d'y Venir.
Accordé, à la réserve de ce qui regarde les Acadiens.	Art. 55. Quant aux Officiers de Milices, aux Miliciens Et aux Accadians qui sont prisonniers à la Nouvelle-Angleterre, Ils seront renvoyés sur leurs Terres.

Fait à Montréal
le 8 Sep^{r} 1760.

VAUDREUIL.

Fait au Camp devant
Montréal ce
8 Septembre
1760.

JEFF AMHERST.

JEFF AMHERST.

CHAPTER VIII.

The surrender of Montreal proved to be the close of the war in America. So far the design of Pitt had been accomplished; the French had been driven from the northern part of the continent, and the British race alone held it in possession to the Mississippi, Louisiana remaining a French province. This important result by no means terminated hostilities. France put forth greater exertions to continue the struggle in Europe, as if by successes nearer home to redeem her losses beyond the Atlantic. Finally, she engaged Spain in the contest, to fight the battle by her side. These events were without influence upon the new possession of Canada. The death of the king, however, which took place within a few weeks of the surrender of Montreal, led to consequences which affected the conduct of the war, and which may be traced in the conditions, on which peace was obtained.

George II. died on the 25th of October, 1760, from apoplexy, in his 74th year.* It will be my duty to relate the course followed by the young king George III., and the political complications which followed, so far as they bear upon the history of this continent. It is impossible to resist the feeling that the death of the old monarch at this crisis was unfortunate for the empire. There is much in the private life of George II. which has put out of view the good side of his character; and this prejudice has been encouraged, from the circumstance that George II., being thirty years old before he came to England, never knew the language perfectly, and shewed no sympathy with its literature. It is doubtful if he could discover its excellence. Never did royalty present so sorry a patron of letters. The king knew nothing of science or art; he was not generous; he had no liking for the state ceremonies which popular feeling so frequently exacts; he was without dignity in his appearance; that charm of manner which has led the world often to put out of view falsehood, dishonesty, and the meanest selfishness, George II. never possessed. Notoriously, he had his mistresses; otherwise, his wife was his companion and friend, and he never lost his trust in her judgment and genius. The attachment of such a woman as queen Caroline to her husband, in spite of his infidelities, must be accepted as proof that his worth and honesty of nature were undoubted. As we consider the king's weakness in attaching himself to female favourites of the hour, we must remember that such relationships, a century back, were regarded in a different light to that in which they are looked upon to-day. Even to the first quarter of this century, they were not considered discreditable to royalty. Within the memory of man a modern Mde. de Pompadour was to be found in Windsor castle, without contemporary opinion being exceedingly shocked. George III. during his whole reign, was the pattern of every private virtue, religious, temperate, irreproachable in his marriage relations, but his conduct in this respect made no permanent impression on the nation, as was seen in the tolerance given to the manners of the regency, and the years succeeding it. Public opinion has since risen up to condemn these irregularities, certainly any objectionable exhibition of them. The life and career of her present majesty has given to society the unmistakable stamp of her own character, to penetrate all classes, and to raise throughout the land a standard of decorum, decency and propriety of life which is not a mere conventionality. The queen has established a living principle of conduct, which cannot be violated with impunity by the highest in the realm. It was said of

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* Horace Walpole relates the circumstances of his death [Letters, III., p. 454]: it took place at seven in the morning, the king dying immediately after the attack. As a mark of the ignorance and superstition of the time, Chesterfield wrote to his son, on November 21st: "It was generally thought that his majesty would have died, and for a very good reason, for the oldest lion in the Tower, much about the king's age, died about a fortnight ago. This extravagancy, I can assure you, was believed by many above the common people."

Augustus Cæsar, he found Rome brick and left it marble, it will be the epitaph of Queen Victoria, that she found loose, uncertain, questionable restraints on conduct, which she replaced by her example and influence with fixed principles of morality and duty, which have become a part of English life throughout the empire, and which have penetrated on both continents into other lands and latitudes.

In the days of George II. there were no such theories of propriety: there was a lower horizon of feeling and sentiment, blended with a latitudinarianism which did not even affect concealment. With no limited number, in all conditions, the mistress was looked upon as a portion of the household of the monarch. It had been the doctrine since the days of Charles II., and a royal reckless libertinage came to be considered a necessary feature of kingly dignity. No one would put forward George II. as an example of moral excellence; but it is equally an exaggeration when his character as a monarch is considered, to talk of his mistresses as representative of his life. His error in this respect, to some extent may be affiliated to the time in which he lived. What is conceded by those who have shewn him but little favour is, that he had undoubted courage, proved in the hour of trial; that he was honest, direct in his conduct; and personally honourable. He recognized the constitutional character of his sovereignty, and never attempted to violate it. In the discharge of his duties as king, he was industrious, painstaking and conscientious; he shewed his sympathy with the people by never attempting to infringe upon their liberties. He understood continental politics better than any of his ministers. His reign was one of the happiest and most prosperous on record; and the final years of his rule can be ranked among the most glorious of the annals of the empire; as the narrative of the events, I have endeavoured to give in this volume, helps to establish. He was moderate in his personal expenditure, indeed he is accused of loving money. No sovereign was ever more careful of the public treasure. There is no scandal of deceit, or want of straightforwardness and truth towards his ministers. He had naturally a love for his electorate, and he availed himself of his position as king of England to sustain it. His policy was to assure the safety of Europe against French domination, the danger of which had not passed away: a policy in which Great Britain was directly interested. Opinion has lately been awakened to the merits of George II.; not the least of the causes, which lead to their recognition, is the consideration now given to the early years of the reign of his successor, the political disorganization which ensued, owing to the introduction into official life of the incompetent Bute, by the merely personal predilections of the king; and that so inferior and inexperienced a person should have been intrusted with the negotiations of an important peace. Had George II. lived, and Chatham remained at the head of affairs, the terms of peace would have been free from those objections which can be urged against them, and possibly peace itself would have been earlier obtained. Chatham's name still carried with it dread and fear; the power of Great Britain was then at its height; faction was silenced; the people of one mind to carry on the war, and the country was never so formidable. One assertion may safely be made: Great Britain would never have disgracefully deserted her ally, the king of Prussia; the personal honour and courage of George II. would have revolted at such contemptible meanness.

The capitulation of Montreal surrendered the whole of Canada to Great Britain, and accordingly it became necessary to establish a form of government by which order would be preserved. It was indispensable likewise to provide machinery by which the business of life should proceed with decency and security. Whatever system was introduced, it could be regarded only as temporary, but however short the period it had to endure, it had to be well considered and efficient. The problem to some extent had been assisted by the year's possession of Quebec by Murray. That period, however, had been one of war. Murray himself had been attacked late in April, and during the last months he had taken part in the active operations which concluded the contest.

The period has come down to us under the name of the "règne militaire," as given by French Canadian writers, and the term to a certain extent has become accepted. It lasted nearly four years, from September, 1760, to October, 1764. There are, moreover, those who having never investigated the facts, and imperfectly recognizing the necessity for establishment of some institutions for the maintenance of law and order, have accepted its nomenclature as indicative of the harshest and most unjust domination, and the government has been misrepresented as one of continual wrong and persecution. No opinion can be more ill-founded. The greatest care was taken to conduct the government in accordance with the old customs of the province, and, in conformity with the law which had hitherto prevailed in Canada, the one desire was to provide for the well-being and contentment of the people.

Three French Canadian writers, a half century back, carefully investigated this matter, and have placed their opinions on record. They were not politicians, intent on exciting the passions and trading on the prejudices of their countrymen. They had not their own interest in view, and did not trust to recklessness of statement to advance their fortunes. In private life they were men of honour, with strong love of race and country, who were among the first to rescue the history of the past, and who had deep at heart the advancement and prosperity of the French Canadians. These three men were Mr. Jacques Viger, Dr. Labrie and judge Dominique Mondelet.*

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* I have to acknowledge my obligations to the memoir of the Historical Society of Montreal published in 1872, "*Règne Militaire en Canada, ou Administration Judiciare de ce pays par les Anglais du 8 Septembre 1760 au 10 Aout 1764.*" These papers were in the first place collected by Mr. Jacques Viger, who added several explanatory notes of reference.

The volume of the Montreal Historical Society was published under the able editorship of M. l'Abbé Verréault with the care and ability which distinguish his many valuable contributions to historical literature. Among its other excellencies it contains a good index.

Mr. Viger tells us that the courts of justice established gave full satisfaction to all the inhabitants, and that when ten years later the Canadians determined to ask of their new sovereign the establishment of their ancient laws, they did so in stating how happy they had been when their fellow-citizens administered justice during the military rule.*

Judge Mondelet has expressed the opinion that no great penetration is required, after the perusal of the judicial registers of this time, to be convinced that the governors had nothing so much at heart as to attach the French Canadians to the new system, by the preservation of their customs and laws.† There was no attempt to introduce English laws, and still less to judge by military law. All that these courts had of the military element was the name.

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* "L'Évènement prouva qu'il ne s'était point trompé, car les chambres de justice donnèrent une satisfaction assez générale à tous les habitans ; tellement que lorsque, quelques années plus tard, ils se décidèrent à redemander à leur nouveau souverain le rétablissement de leurs anciennes lois, qu'on leur avait si cruellement otées, à l'époque de l'institution du gouvernement civil, ils ne le firent qu' après avoir exprimé combien ils avaient été heureux, quand leurs propres Concitoyens, leur avaient administré la justice sous le *Règne Militaire.* Ecoutons-les, eux-mêmes parler ; ils vont nous dire quelles lois furent en force et de quelle manière ils furent jugés, sous ce prétendu regne militaire.

" Loin de ressentir, au moment de la conquête, les tristes effets de la gêne et de la captivité, le sage et vertueux général qui nous a conquis, digne image du souverain glorieux qui lui confia le commandement de ses armées, nous laissa en possession de nos lois et de nos coutumes. Le libre exercise de notre religion nous fut conservé et confirmé par le traité de paix ; et nos anciens citoyens furent établis les juges de nos différends civils. Nous n'oublierons jamais cet excès de bonté : ces traits généreux d'un si doux vainqueur seront conservés précieusement dans nos fastes ; et nous les transmettrons d'âge en âge à nos derniers neveux." [Extrait de *l'adresse* des Canadiens au Roi, pour demander le rétablissement de leurs lois en 1773.] Mémoire Abbé Verréault, p. 28.

† Il ne faut pas une pénétration bien grande, pour se persuader, après avoir parcouru ces registres et presques tous les monumens judicaires de ce temps, que les gouverneurs de cette époque n'avaient rien tant à cœur que de nous attacher à eux, en conservant nos usages et nos lois. L'on n'apperçoit nulle part la prétention d'introduire les lois anglaises, et encore moins celle de juger suivant la loi martiale ; car si ces juges tombent parfois dans l'arbitraire, il faut bien se garder d'en conclure que la cause s'en trouve dans leur adhésion à une loi qui n'est faite que pour les soldats, mais seulement que leur désir d'atteindre à la justice particulière de chaque cause les force à violer quelquefois les principes généraux des lois. Ces cours n'avaient de militaire que le nom, qu'elles avaient pris des juges qui y présidaient. Mémoire Abbé Verréault, p. 41.

Dr. Labrie remarks that although the regimental officers were the administrators of justice, nevertheless they respected and even followed in their procedure the laws and ancient customs of the colony to the extent they knew them, or that circumstances permitted.*

The title which this government has obtained is unfortunate, inasmuch as it has admitted of misrepresentation; nevertheless, it possesses the merit of correctly describing the situation in which matters stood. Between the capitulation and the peace, Canada was occupied as a conquered country, and the basis of authority was the force with which it was held. A more correct title would have been the period of the governors' courts, or temporary government, for the name given is in all respects a misnomer. It is an act of injustice to identify the principles of government laid down by Amherst, as those of military rule, which means coercion at the bayonet's point.

Amherst lost no time in carrying out his purpose. On the 16th, eight days after the capitulation, Burton was appointed governor of Three Rivers, and he was ordered to proceed thither with the 48th regiment, and with some artillery. Burton was instructed, that with regard to thefts, murders and crime, military law remained in force. Civil differences of the inhabitants were to be settled, according to their own laws, by the captains of militia, who were to retain authority in their parishes. If the decision given by this court was unacceptable to one of the parties, an appeal could be made to the commanding officer of the district. If he declined to decide the difference, or he considered a higher opinion desirable, or there was still discontent on one side, the case was to be referred to the governor, assisted by a council of captains. The governor was, for his own guidance in the conduct of the government, to form a council of field officers. The officers of militia were called upon to surrender their French commissions, upon which English commissions would be issued by the governor.*

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* "les officiers des troupes y furent les administrateurs de la justice, en respectant toutefois et en suivant meme les procédures, les lois et les usages anciens de la colonie, autant qu'ils les connurent, ou que le permirent les circonstances où elle se trouvait." Mémoire Abbé Verréault, p. 66.

On the 21st of September, Gage was appointed governor of Montreal; the same form of government was established, with the difference that the council judging civil cases, should consist of field officers. The spirit in which these regulations were established, is shewn by the instructions given to Gage: "These newly-acquired subjects," says Amherst, "when they have taken the oath, are as much his Majesty's subjects as any of us, and are, so long as they remain deserving of it, entitled to the same protection. I would have you particularly give it in charge to the troops to live in good harmony and brotherhood with them, and avoid all differences soever."†

One duty was enforced on the new government by ordinary prudence, the disarming of the Canadian militia. Commissioners were appointed to proceed to the different parishes to tender the oath of allegiance, and to collect the arms in the hands of the inhabitants. Each officer of militia was allowed to retain a firelock, and any of the inhabitants desiring to possess a gun to shoot in the woods, could be allowed one on certain conditions. There was never any difficulty on this point, any parish could obtain from seven to ten muskets, for the purpose of the chase; numerous certificates remain to shew that this permission was liberally granted.

Murray was continued at the head of the government at Quebec. He had established rules and published ordinances, by which the public service had been conducted. Quebec was now brought in harmony with the two other provinces, and one system prevailed throughout Canada.

Gage, on assuming his government in October, 1760, issued an ordinance as a guidance for the inhabitants. No deserters were to be harboured, and no soldiers' necessaries purchased.

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* Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 94, p. 254.

† Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 94, p. 264.

The inhabitants were informed of the mode of procedure to be followed in the settlement of their civil disputes, and that finally the case could be brought before the governor. When the appeal was made, it must be placed in writing. The governor would then assign a day of hearing. The officers of militia were ordered to assemble every Tuesday to adjudicate on the contestations to be submitted to them.

Police regulations were enforced. Chimneys were to be swept once a month, non-observance entailed a fine of *six livres*. In case of fires carpenters were called upon to be present with an axe; every inhabitant with an axe and a bucket; non-attendance was punishable by fine. The snow was to be kept level in front of each house, with a footpath of two feet in width; all filth and rubbish to be taken to the river side; the roads and bridges were to be kept in good order; dealers were forbidden to forestall in the market under a heavy fine.

While the civil causes were thus determined, criminal cases were submitted to a court of military officers. In the early days of the exercise of this jurisdiction, the difficulty was experienced, that there was no prison where criminals could be confined, and no executioner to inflict punishment, consequently, the chastisement rapidly followed the crime. It was fine or flogging. An accusation before the court was by no means another word for conviction; on the contrary, many were acquitted. The pleadings before these courts must have been sufficiently simple. At the capitulation of Quebec, all the officers, civil and military, of that district, left the colony; and at the capitulation of Montreal, the same result happened. There could accordingly have been little technical law in the early pleadings. Generally, however, in Canada, in the most peaceful days of French rule, equity had greatly prevailed. There had never been the same forms, as are followed in a modern court of law, or were then observed in France. The first trace of regularity of proceeding is to be found in the appointment of Champlain as governor in 1633, after the abandonment by Charles I. of the conquest of Kirke.

Although Champlain laid the foundations of Quebec a quarter of a century earlier, in 1603, it is only after the conquest of Kirke had been restored to France that the history of Canada can be said to commence, in the sense that it was more than the scene of the labour of a few adventurers.

The will of the governor was at this early date supreme, for he was not forced to follow the advice of his council. In 1648 the council obtained greater influence. It consisted of the governor, the previous governor, if in the country, for at that date the office was granted only for three years, the chief of the jesuits, in case of no bishop being appointed, and two councillors elected for three years by the council, and the syndics of Quebec, Montreal and Three Rivers. If there were no former governor in the country, then the fifth councillor was elected by the colony. This system remained until 1663, when Canada became a royal government. In 1664 the company of "des Indes Occidentales" was re-established. In 1674 the authority of the king was reaffirmed, and the Conseil Souverain re-established, and it continued, with modifications from time to time, to the conquest. It was before this body the civil process was carried on. It had in reality no authority beyond making some ordinary laws of police. The intendant actually possessed power over the council, and his ordinances were binding as laws. On the other hand, any legislation made in France was ordered to be registered, and it became law in Canada. It was the Conseil Souverain which took cognizance of all cases, civil and criminal, and laid down laws of police, when introduced by the governor-general and intendant.

The governor, intendant and the bishop were all important in the administration of the law, but they were not always of accord; indeed, serious quarrels took place between them. This court alone was in force to render justice between man and man. The French Canadian was not permitted participation in political or legislative affairs. The governors' courts, after the conquest, at once had the merit of raising the captains of militia, the gentry of the country, to the important duty of taking part in the government. As men of family, they were the only part of the population with any education: the fact must be plainly stated, that the great body of people could not read or write, and were without the slightest knowledge of what was taking place in the world, beyond their own daily experience. We have the statement of the captains of militia, that their sergeants could not write, or at least imperfectly.* Murray describes the people he found about Quebec, as perhaps the most ignorant people under the sun, and hence the most superstitious.†

The form of government introduced by Amherst, if we set out of view the shock given to sentiment in the matter of the disruption of old traditions, and the feeling that the law was administered by men, who had attained the right of possession by force of arms, who professed a different religion, and spoke a language not the vernacular of the people, must have been in every respect a relief, by its contrast to the old despotic French government. There could have been no hardship in the absence of technical pleading, for it had been unknown in Canada. The disputes must have been simply cases of right or wrong, when substantial justice could be administered through common sense, equity and honesty. All Gage's ordinances shew the desire to act in accordance with justice, and in harmony with the people. The government of Montreal was divided into five districts. The first governor's court was held at Point Claire, and had jurisdiction to the west to the Cedars and Vaudreuil; on the east to Lachine. The second established at Longueuil, on the south of the Saint Lawrence, included the inhabitants from Chambly and Chateauguay to Varennes. The third was held at Saint Antoine, on the south of the Saint Lawrence, and extended from Sorel to Verchères, ascending the Richelieu to Saint Denis. The fourth at Pointe aux Trembles, on the north shore, included the country to Lachenaie, and to the north as far as Saint Rose and Terrebonne. The fifth was placed at Lavaltrie, and embraced the county of Berthier.

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* Verreault, p. 89. "Comme nos sergents de milice ne savent point écrire ou ne le font qu' imparfaitement."

† Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 99, p. 170.

There was a special court for Montreal. The proceedings were to be carried on in the district of the defendant. Montreal was excepted from this regulation, the citizens having the right to have their cases tried in the city. The attendance of witnesses could be enforced under fine. The proceedings were carried on in French, for excepting the British garrisons, there was scarcely any one who knew a word of English. Certain moderate fees were allowed for the payment of the expenses of the court; but the duty of the judges, the captains of militia, were carried on without payment. All the proceedings of the courts were conducted in conformity with the laws and customs which had prevailed under French rule.

I can only find the record of two executions, both early in 1761, one that of a grenadier of the 44th for robbery: there must have been some extraordinary cause for severity, for the ordinary punishment in such cases was three hundred lashes. The second was that of a French soldier, formerly of the regiment of La Sarre, for the murder of a *habitant* at île Jesus. The man was hanged in the market place of Montreal, and the body carried to the scene of the crime, to be "hung in chains." *

A few months only had passed, when the opportunity occurred for the new subjects to shew their satisfaction with the rule under which they lived. On the death of George II. the citizens of Montreal "placed themselves in mourning," † and they presented an address to Gage, expressing their sense of the protection they received, and the peace and prosperity they enjoyed under the new government; treatment such as a father gave his children, not the harsh tyranny of a conqueror. The address was written both in French and English.[*]

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* Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 96.1, p. 4.

† Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 96.1, p. 222.

On the 26th of November, 1762, Gage issued a proclamation, informing the inhabitants of Canada, that the preliminaries of the treaty of peace had been signed at Fontainbleau, on the 3rd of that month. On the 17th of May, 1763, he obtained authority to declare that the treaty had been concluded on the 10th of February, 1763, and peace permanently

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ADDRESS FROM MONTREAL.

[*] A Son Excellence Le General Gouverneur de Montreal, Et de ses Dependences.

L'Addresse de Mess$^{\text{rs}}$ Les officiers de Milices Et Negociants de la Ville de Montreal.

La Parque Inhumain a donc tranché le fil des Beaux Jours d'un Roy aussi grand que Magnanime. Nous Venons Epancher Nos Regrets dans le Sien paternel de Votre Excellence, Seuls Tributs de la reconnaisance d'un peuple qui ne cessera Jamais d'Exhalter et la douceur, Et la Moderation de Ses Nouveaux Maitres Le Heros qui Nous a conquis. Nous a traité plutôt en Père qu'en Vanqueur, Et Nous a laissè un gage precieux, de Nom et d'effets de Ses bontés, pour Nous. Que de reconnaissance ne devons Nous pas avoir de tant de Bienfaits? Ah! ils seront Eternellement gravès dans Nos Cœurs en Caracterès Ineffacables. Nous Suplions Votre Excellence de Nous Continuer L'honneur de Sa Protection. Nous ferons en sorte de la meriter par Nôtre Zele Et par les Vœux ardents que Nous Offrions sans cesse à L'Immortel pour Sa Santé et Conservation.

Translated, as inserted in the *New York Gazette.*

To His Excellency General Gage, Governor of Montreal and its Dependencies.

The Addres of the officers of Militia and Merchants of the City of Montreal.

Cruel Destiny has thus Cutt short the Glorious Days of so Great & so Magnanimous a Monarch! We are come to pour out our Grief into the paternal Bosom of Your Excellency, the sole Tribute of Gratitude of a People who will never Cease to Exhalt the mildness and Moderation of their New Masters. The General who conquered Us has rather treated Us as a Father than a Vanquisher, & has left us a precious Pledge[*] by Name & Deed of his Goodness to Us; What acknowledgments are we not beholden to make for so many Favors? Ha! they shall be forever Engraven in our Hearts in Indelible Character. We Entreat Your Excellency to Continue Us the Honour of Your Protection. We will Endeavour to Deserve it by our Zeal & by the Earnest Prayers We shall ever offer up to the Immortal Being for Your Health and Preservation.

Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 96.1, p. 327.

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[*] Pledge in French is *Gage* [*sic*].

made, by which Canada had been ceded to England. In his proclamation, he gave in full, the fourth article which recapitulated the cession. He also informed the new subjects, that in connection with the treaty, the French paper money held by them had been considered, and that a declaration had been obtained from the king of France, that payment would hereafter be made of the amount held by British subjects. I have to allude further to the question of paper money.

Gage left Montreal in October, 1763: he was transferred to New York to replace Amherst as commanding in chief, who was leaving for England.*

The captains of militia presented him with an address. I have been unable to discover this document, but Gage's reply has been preserved. He expresses the satisfaction he had always felt in their conduct; thanked them for their services to their king and country, and called upon them to continue the same care for the public welfare, which had gained for them reputation with their countrymen, and would obtain the consideration of the king.†

On Gage's departure Burton was translated to the government of Montreal, and Haldimand appointed to that of Three Rivers. Burton had administered the government of Three Rivers until May the 5th, 1762, when he left Canada to join the force despatched to the siege of Havannah. Haldimand was appointed temporarily to the office, which he held until Burton returned in March, 1763. The government of Three Rivers was conducted on the same principle as that of Montreal. Haldimand divided the territory into four districts, the centres of which were Champlain and River du Loup, on the north shore: Saint Francis and Gentilly, opposite Three Rivers, on the south shore. He established rules of government. It may be inferred that a class of persons found occupation in the courts, which they exercised dishonestly, for Haldimand included in his regulations laid down, that those pleading in bad faith should pay the expenses in the cause.*

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* General orders, New York. 17th November, 1763.

† Verréault's Mémoire, p. 121.

What must have appeared unusual to the Canadians, who had not been admitted into the participation of any political event, was the publication by proclamation of what was law, and was required of them. Printing had never been introduced into Canada during French rule: under the new government full intelligence was given in French of every duty to be performed, and every obligation to be fulfilled.

The close examination of these proceedings will establish the utter absence of military despotism in the civil causes. No fact can be more plain, than the desire to establish law and order, to render justice between man and man, and to make the Canadians satisfied with the new order of things. To the French Canadian accustomed to government *corvées*, the harsh treatment of impressment, compelled to take the field without pay, merely receiving his rations, and living under the absolute control of those in authority, without one political privilege, the change must have been extreme. Haldimand, in a letter to Amherst, says, that nothing the Canadians dreaded so much, was the return of the French, as they desired to cultivate their farms peacefully and happily.†

The utmost care was taken to protect the *habitant* from wrong. He was told that the troops were fed by the king, and that it was their duty to pay in ready money, in specie "*espèces sonnantes*," for all they obtained. That horses or carts employed were to be paid for. The *habitants*, in their own interest, were forbidden to take the *billets d'ordonnance*, on the ground that the paper was without value, and they were told the precise equivalent of the New York in relation to the French currency.* There were the usual orders against the encouragement of deserters, purchasing soldiers' necessaries, sweeping chimneys, and the care of roads. No one was allowed to sell liquor to soldiers. As there was a fear of scarcity of food, the *habitants* were forbidden to deal with strangers, "*coureurs de côte*," but ordered to bring their provisions to the markets. On the 19th of February, the death of George II. was proclaimed at Three Rivers, and the people were called upon to take the oath of allegiance to George III. All persons not qualified were forbidden to pass any notarial act. An attempt was made to discover if any British subjects, who had been taken prisoners, still remained with the Indians, or elsewhere. Those persons who, under the capitulation of Montreal, desired to return to France, were requested to send in their names by the 18th of August, 1761.

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* "Les plaideurs de Mauvaise foy seront contraints de payer les depenses de leurs parties adverses suivant l'arbitrage qui en sera fait par les d. Chambres." Verréault mémoire, p. 238.

† Haldimand to Amherst. Three Rivers, 25th August, 1762.

"La Prise de S^t Jean de Terre Neuve n' a produit chez les Habittans aucune impression qui puisse nous inquietter. Je suis persuadé au contraire qu'ils seroient au desespoir de voir arriver une Flotte & des Troupes Françoises, dans ce Pays en quel Nombre qu'elles fussent : Sentant très bien qu' ayant une comuniquation aussi facille avec nos collonies, ils en seroient les seules victimes et en general les Canadiens comencent trop à goutter le prix de la liberté pour être la duppe des François dans un pareil cas. Ils font aujourd'hui leurs recoltes tranquillement & elle sera bonne cette année." Can. Arch., B, p. 216.

On the 11th of October, 1761, the intended marriage of the king was announced.† On the 1st of November the fall of Pondichery, the taking of the island of Saint Dominique, and Prince Ferdinand's victory of the 16th of July were proclaimed. On the 4th of February the new subjects were told that the king's marriage had taken place on the 8th of

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* The table is given. Mémoire Abbé Vérreault, p. 154.

	Nouvelle York		Repondant à la Francaise.			
La pièce d'or appeleé *portugaise* vaut huit piastres, ou soixante-quatre chelings monnaie d' York, ou quarante-huit livres de France	64 schelings=48 livres.					
Le piastre........	8	"	= 6	"		
Le demi piastre...........	4	"	= 3	"		
Le quart de piastre...	2	"	= 1	"	10 sous.	
Le cinquième partie de piastre	1.7^{e}	"	= 1	"	4	
Le huitième partie de piastre.....	1	"	= 0	"	15	
La seizième partie de piastre......	0.6	"	0	"	7	6d.
Les pièces du cuivre valent	0	"	= 0	"	1	

† One portion of the notification ran: "je suis résolu de demander en mariage la Princesse Charlotte Mecklenburg Strelitz, Princesse distinguée par toutes les vertus et les qualités aimables du cœur, et de l'esprit dont l'illustre maison a donné des preuves constantes de son zèle sincère pour la religion protestante, et de son attachement particulier à ma famille." Mémoire Verréault, p. 202.

September, 1761. On the 19th of March, 1762, Amherst's letter was published, in which he communicated the king's approval of the system he had laid down, conveyed through lord Egremont on the 12th of September.*

Intelligence was given of the declaration of war against the king of Spain. Instructions were published as to the mode of dealing with the Indians; no one was to traffic with them privately. The sale of their furs could only be made on the public market; no liquor could be furnished them before the close of the market, and no large quantity could then be given to them. The birth of the prince of Wales, George IV., on the 12th of August. 1762, was announced. The notice of the suspension of the operations of war, was made known, and the definitive treaty of peace, which determined the new nationality of Canada, was published the following May.

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* In view of the misrepresentations which have been made with regard to this period, I deem it proper to reproduce the language of the British secretary of state on this occasion.

"Sa Majesté remarque, avec plaisir, la douceur et la bénignité avec laquelle Vous offrés egalement et sans partialité, sa protection Royalle a tous ses sujets. Les ordres que vous donnés particulièrement aux troupes de vivre en bonne intelligence, et en bonne harmonie avec les Canadiens, meritent, avec justice, l'approbation dont je suis Chargé de vous faire part. Et Comme rien ne peut être plus Essentiel au Service de S. M. Le Bon plaisir du Roy, et que vous reiteriés aux differens Gouverneurs des endroits cy-dessus nommés de Suivre les voies de douceur et de Conciliation qui font partie des Instructions que vous leur avés donné, et que vous recommandiés très expressement a leur vigilance et a leur attention, de se Servir des moyens les plus efficaces pour que les Canadiens soient traités, avec douceur et avec humanités. Ils Sont maintenant en effet comme vous l'experimés fort bien, egalement sujets de Sa Majesté Britannique, et comme tels ont également droit de reclamer sa protection, et de jouir de tous les avantages de cette humanité, et de Cette douceur de Gouvernement qui distingue déjà le Regne propice de Sa Majesté, et fait Le Bonheur particulier de tous les peuples sujets à l'Empire de la Grande-Bretagne; et vous avertirés les Gouverneurs cy-dessus nommés de donner des ordres précis et très-exprès, pour empecher qu' aucun soldat, matelot, ou autre n'insulte les habitans françois qui Sont maintenant Sujets du même prince, deffendant a qui que ce soit de les offenser en leur rappellant d'une façon peu genereuse cette infériorité a laquelle le sort des armes les a reduits, ou en faisant des remarques insultantes sur leur Langage, leurs habillemens, leurs modes, leurs coutumes et leur pays, ou des reflexions, peu Charitables et peu Chrètiennes sur la Religion qu'ils professent."

Mémoire Verréault, p. 217.

The new subjects were, by these means, admitted to a knowledge of the political events, which were happening in other hemispheres throughout the empire. Their experience, had been hitherto limited to what took place in their parishes, and at their own firesides. They were now experiencing a consideration from their rulers, until this date unknown to them. As we, to-day, consider the notifications contained in the governors' proclamations, they may appear a slight matter, and of little benefit to those to whom they were addressed. To place ourselves in the position of understanding how they contained within themselves the first element of political education, we must remember that printing had hitherto been unknown, and in the rural parishes outside of the cities of Montreal, Three Rivers and Quebec, the life of the *habitant* was diversified by no public event beyond his social and family relationships and his lawsuits, except when forced to take up arms in the field at the call of the governor. The only channel by which he obtained news of the contest, was when a *mandement* was issued for a *Te Deum* to be chanted for a victory. In no country is mention made of disaster, and French Canada was no exception in the hour of depression. The one promise of rest to the *habitant* was peace ; peace, to be freed from *corvées* and military duties. As it was always yearned after, it was always being foretold, but delay followed delay till even hope ceased to be felt, and the future loomed forth pregnant with evil days. The *habitant* was held to till the soil, to pay his *cens et rentes* and to be simply counted among the number of men capable of bearing arms. It was in the latter respect his value was felt. It is difficult in the period of French rule to discover any evidence that there was the least thought of his happiness or the least care of his advancement. Provided the *habitant* was faithful to the state and dutiful and obedient to the church little else was thought of. How he lived, and toiled, and remained unchanged generation after generation was of little account. It was British rule which first awoke the French Canadian rural population to the duties, the obligations and independence of manhood.

CHAPTER IX.

During the interregnum lord Egremont, then secretary of state, called for reports from the three governors of the districts of Montreal, Three Rivers and Quebec. These documents, drawn up in 1762, throw much light both on the system observed during the period of the French government, and on the proceedings of the British governors. Gage's census of the whole district of Montreal shews the number to have been 24,957:[*] he describes the care which had been

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[*] All the governors reported upon the population of their several governments. Gage thus gives:

Population district of Montreal, 1761.

Males.—Boys under 16	5,142		
Men, 16 to 60	7,764		
Men above 60	777		
		13,683	
Slaves or Negroes.			
Under 16 years	35		
Above 16 years	47		
		82	
			13,765
Females.—Girls under 12 years	5,090		
Married women and widows	5,849		
		10,939	
Negro Slaves.			
Under 12 years	20		
Above 12 years	73		
		93	
			11,032
Religious Orders.			
Members of Communities	35		
Curés	24		
		59	
Religieuses		101	
			160
Total			24,957

There is likewise the number 3,005 arbitrarily added to the above, without classification. I can only explain these figures by presuming that they represent the garrisons of the district, the return of which was not copied.

The Indian population is given :

Men	284
Boys	176
Women	343
Girls	136
Total	939

[A. & W. I., 97.1, p. 141.

The population of Three Rivers is thus reported by Burton. [A. & W. I., 97.1, p. 296.]

Housekeepers, males	1,217
Married women and widows	1,182
Males, unmarried, and children	1,838
Females, " " "	1,948
Male servants	243
Female "	184
Total	6,612

The two Abenaki villages of Bécancour and Saint Francis, with the Algonquin village of Point du Lac, contained a total population of 500 souls.

Murray's census of the district of Quebec is given. [Series Q, p. 15.]

Return of the number of souls in the several parishes belonging to the government of Quebec.

Males under 16	6,709	
" from 16 to 60	5,969	
" above 60	627	
		13,305
Women	5,428	
Maids	8,535	
		13,963
Domestics, Male	680	
" Female	475	
		1,155
Strangers having no settlement		1,788
Total		30,211

No return of the Indians is given.

Murray reports the total population of the city of Quebec at this date at 3,500. He adds a note to his statement, that he possesses a copy of the French census of 1755, by which the population of the district is shewn as amounting to 39,873, and that by these returns that of the city of Quebec stands at 7,215.

By tabulating these statements, we obtain a total of the whole of the population of Canada in 1761, amounting to 61,780 souls.

	Males.			Females.		Negroes and slaves.				Religious orders.			Domestics.			
	Under 16.	From 16 to 60.	Above 60.	Girls under 12 and unmarried.	Married and widows.	Under 16.	Over 16.	Under 12.	Over 12.	Members of Communities.	Curés.	Religieuses.	Male.	Female.	Strangers having no settlement.	Total.
Montreal........	5,142	7,764	777	5,090	5,849	35	47	20	73	35	24	101	...	...	....	24,957
Three Rivers.....	1,838	1,217	...	1,948	1,182	..	..	Not given			..	...	241	184	....	6,612
Quebec..........	6,709	5,969	627	8,535	5,428	..	..	Not given			..	...	680	475	1,788	30,211
	13,689	14,950	1,404	15,573	12,459	35	47	20	73	35	24	101	923	659		
	30,043			28,032		175				160			1,582		1,788	61,780

shewn in the rule of the inhabitants, his desire to conciliate them and treat them with justice.* The address presented by the inhabitants of Montreal to Gage, † is ample proof of the success of his policy. There was likewise an endeavour to introduce a better system of trade in the west, than that which had previously prevailed. There had been three classes of posts: those of the king; those sold to private persons for an annual rent; and those open to all who would pay a license to trade. The King's posts were La Galette (Prescott), Cataraqui (Kingston), Toronto and Niagara: before the conquest of them, the Ohio posts, from Presqu'île to Duquesne, had been also royal posts. The posts sold to private parties were lake Temiscaming; Sault St. Mary; Michipicoten; lake Superior; Abrinipigon, evidently lake Nepigon, north of lake Superior; Kaministiquia; La Mer d'Ouest, west of lake Superior, doubtless lake Winnipeg; Chaquimagon, southwest of lake Superior; the bay des Puants, lake Michigan (Green bay); Saint Joseph at the head of this lake.

The highest price paid was 25,000 *livres* annual rent, being the amount paid for the bay des Puants. This place obtained its importance by commanding all the trade of the upper Mississippi. The traders from Louisiana rarely came above the mouth of the Illinois, and their last post to the north was Vincennes, on the Wabash. The next in value was the Mer d'Ouest, for which the rent was 20,000 *livres*. Sault St. Mary was rated at 18,000 *livres*, Temiscaming at 14,000; the remaining posts paid from 14,000 to 10,000; Kaministiquia only 8,000 and Saint Joseph 3,000 *livres*.

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* His language is deserving of preservation, and is important, as it plainly shews the spirit in which the government was conducted.

"No Invasion of their Property, or Insult on their Persons, have gone unpunished. All Reproaches on their Subjection to the Fate of Arms, Reviling on their Customs or Country, and all Reflections on their Religion, have been discountenanced and forbid.

"No Distinction has been made betwixt the Briton & Canadian, but equally regarded as Subjects of the same Prince. The Soldiers live peaceably with the Inhabitants, and they reciprocally acquire an Affection for each other.

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"The Indians have been treated with the Same Principles of Humanity. They have had immediate Justice for all their Wrongs, and no Tricks or Artifices have hitherto been attempted to defraud them in their Trade."

Can. Arch., 97.1, p. 121.

† Ante p. 446.

The remaining posts, Detroit,* Michillimackinac, Miami and Homilliatanon † on the Wabash were free. Passes were granted for trade at the rate of $600 per canoe, with the obligation of carrying four cwt. for the king.

Gage formed an unfavourable opinion of the system. By the grant of exclusive privileges expensively paid for, a higher price for goods was exacted from the Indians, while the trade was carried on, to suit the conditions of the monopoly, by which it was injured rather than developed. No control was exercised over the men engaged in it, who were independent of all inspection and many wrongs were committed on the Indians for which no redress could be obtained. Consequently the Indians frequently murdered the traders, and the French had been drawn into the necessity of sending out expensive expeditions to far distances. The trade in this form was also demoralizing, for it created a numerous class living among the Indians, which abandoned civilization and intermarried with squaws, finally to accept as their lot in life, the mode of existence which they could not be induced to abandon. While the minor trading posts thus became multiplied, Gage did not consider that they increased the trade; for those engaged in these expeditions went far distances among the Indians, and obtained the furs, which otherwise would have found their way to Detroit and Michillimackinac. In spite of the large sums paid for the licenses, little of the amount found its way into the coffers of the king. There was so much abuse and so many charges recognized and permitted, that the amounts paid into the royal treasury dwindled to a small remaining balance. Indeed there was only one means to obtain a revenue on furs at little cost: it was to place a small tax on the exportation of them.

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* The capture of Niagara proved the destruction of the fur trade. De Bellaître, who had been in command at Detroit, on the surrender of the post to Rogers was sent to New York, On his arrival there he informed Amherst that since Niagara had been taken there had been no trade and that "three thousand packs" of furs had been collected: none had been sold except to some British traders, who had reached that place. [Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 96. 1., p. 220.]

† Approximately on the latitude of Saint Louis.

Gage accordingly abolished all trade monopolies; the incumbrances on the fur trade were removed, and traders frequented such posts as they deemed expedient. Montreal was the spot whence these expeditions were organized, and the relaxation of the previous regulations, limiting the business to a few, must have led to increased activity; especially as all Indian interference with the passage of the canoes ceased to be cause of alarm.

At Three Rivers the Têtes de Boule tribe descended by the northern waters to the town, generally at the end of May, or the beginning of June. Trade with this tribe was one of the principal industries of Three Rivers, and great efforts were made to direct it to the town. In October, 1761, Burton issued a proclamation, forbidding parties, under the penalty of the confiscation of the cargo, to proceed among the Têtes de Boule for the purpose of obtaining their furs. He set forth, that it was the desire of the British government that the trade should be open to all, and that there should be no forestalling. Burton pointed out that those who had made these expeditions, desired to profit by the ignorance of the Indian, and when doing so, in order to further their own ends, they had endeavoured to create a prejudice against the British. Every encouragement was given to the Indians, to induce them to descend to the town. On their arrival, their goods were placed with the Sieur de Francheville. After the arrangement of debts due for the advances made by merchants, the articles were exposed for sale in the public market, of which due notice was given. The governor assisted the trade, by supplying the merchants with powder, to be furnished to the Indians on certain conditions. I have spoken of the control exercised over the sale of liquor to them.

British rule on this continent has been invariably distinguished by the desire to treat the Indians with honesty and justice. It is the principle which to-day is acted upon by the dominion. Gage recommended that a small detachment of troops should be placed at the trading posts, the officers having power to administer justice, either unaided, or assisted by responsible persons at the post. By these means, the traders would be unable with impunity to defraud the Indian, and the tricks and artifices of the white men would meet with instant punishment; the insolence of the Indian would be repressed, and any cause of quarrel removed, so that the peace would not be disturbed.

The governors could discover only two causes of dislike to the new government. One, the fear on the part of the inhabitants of losing their paper money, of which every one held a large amount; indeed, until the arrival of the British troops, it was the only currency. Gage drew Amherst's attention to the subject, with the view that by his recognition of this fear of loss, some steps might be taken to lead to its redemption by France. The matter was finally arranged at the peace; that any payment was at all made, was entirely owing to the persistence of the home authorities. It thus became an early duty of the British government to obtain satisfaction from the court of France, with regard to the obligations entered into before the conquest, by the French government and intendant. The "new subjects" being now entitled to British protection, fully received it.

Much misrepresentation has been made on the subject of this money. British officers and civil officials have been charged with deceiving the *habitants*, and of taking advantage of their position to obtain the paper-money at the lowest value, far beneath its actual worth, with the knowledge that it would be ultimately redeemed, and that large sums were made by the operation. The assertion is simply a calumny, unsustained by fact; an assertion without proof. No scrap of evidence can be found to establish it; on the contrary, every care was taken by the governors to give information on the subject, and to caution the *habitant* both when the paper was considered to be valueless not to receive it, and when there was a prospect that it would be redeemed by the French king, not to sacrifice it.

During the war, as early as June, 1760, Murray issued a manifesto on the subject of the circular, which de Vaudreuil and Bigot had caused to be distributed, by which they promised that the letters of change of 1757–1758 should be paid in three months after the peace; those of 1759 to be paid in eighteen months; the *billets d'ordonnance* to be settled when circumstances would permit. Murray's proclamation dealt with these promised liquidations; he shewed that it was an engagement for a payment of six millions per month to commence at a certain date, to pay off a debt of one hundred or one hundred and twenty million *livres*, and that circumstances would not permit the redemption of this immense amount of paper-money. Possibly Murray's desire was likewise to depreciate the card currency, for it was the time of war.

On the 22nd of September, 1760, by proclamation, Burton expresses his surprise to hear that, in spite of the proclamation of general Murray, the card money and *billets d'ordonnance* continued to be paid and received in ordinary business. The use of this money, he said, could only proceed from bad faith. Burton accordingly directed the captains of militia to assemble the *habitants* of the parishes, and to make known to them that the use of it was forbidden, and that he would punish any one who would impose on the credulity of the *habitants* by forcing upon them this fraudulent payment. That there should be no mistake with regard to the value of the coinage in use, he published a schedule of relative value of the French and English coin.*

Thus by the end of 1760 the card currency was entirely out of use, and the only question affecting its future value, was the course which the British government would be able to take in the settlement of the conditions of peace, whether or not it would be possible to obtain recognition of it, and enforce its liquidation.

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* Ante p. 449.

In the treaty of peace of 1763 a declaration was appended with regard to the amount held in Canada. It set forth that the most christian king would pay the sum due to the new subjects of Great Britain, but that the amount must not be confounded with the money held by French subjects. On the 27th of May, 1763, Gage issued a regulation with regard to the holders of this paper money, by which a declaration could be made of the amount in possession. They were requested between the 1st and 30th of June, to place the amount held by them in the hands of Maître Panet, *greffier* of Montreal, designating the character of the notes, with the name of the holder, upon which certificates of receipt would be given. It was to be *bonâ fide* the property of the depositor: a fee of five *sous* was to be payable for every thousand *livres* so deposited.

It is not impossible that this notice caused some speculation and that the paper-money became an object of traffic. To guard the *habitants* against any sacrifice of their interest, Haldimand issued a proclamation in the district of Three Rivers, calling upon them not to discount the notes at a low price. He counselled them to wait with patience the settlement of the matter, adding that buying and selling the notes might prejudice their rights to hinder, or delay settlement.* Nothing was done until the 29th of March, 1768, when general Conway, on the part of Great Britain, and count de Guerchy, appointed on the part of France, with full powers from their governments, concluded a convention, in which a reduction of fifty per cent. was made on the bills of exchange, and seventy-five per cent. on the "*ordonnances*," for which sums, certificates were granted. Money was to be paid according to this reduction on the face value of the certificates. For the amounts remaining unpaid, what in modern days would be called debentures, bearing four and a half per cent. were issued subject to the tax of the *dixième*. Certain forms were laid down, so that the property of British subjects, only should be included in the arrangement. No certificate was in any case to exceed in value one thousand *livres tournois*. A period closing on the 1st of October, 1768, was given for making a declaration of the amount held by each person, after which date neither the card money nor *ordonnances* could be recorded, and they must be considered as null and of no value.

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* Mémoire Abbé Verréault, p. 281.

Every means was taken to inform the *habitant* of the course followed by the British government, and of the actual value of the obligations held in Canada. If any parties, under the pressure of present necessity, sacrificed their property, they only acted under influences which are daily in operation.

The second point of dissatisfied French Canadian feeling was jealousy and fear concerning their religion. This distrust in a short time became greatly abated, but many circumstances contributed to its continuance. The higher clergy, born in France, were Frenchmen in feeling and many of the Canadian priests educated in French seminaries strongly entertained their sentiments. The most implicit reliance was placed on the statements made by ecclesiastics, and they exercised great control over the minds of the *habitants*. Both Gage and Murray saw the necessity of obtaining a class of priests, including the highest dignitaries, born in Canada, who would be educated with feelings of attachment to their own country, apart from any colouring of French nationality; consequently the appointment of a bishop was indispensable, so that native Canadians could be admitted to orders, and the country would not be forced to obtain foreign ecclesiastics, to perform the offices of the church. There was no present anxiety with the French Canadian, the fear was for the future. During French rule there was by no means cordiality of feeling between the civil rulers and the dignitaries of the church. From the earliest days of British occupation the higher ecclesiastics and the working clergy were treated with respect and consideration. Nevertheless, from the feeling I have described, the French Canadians availed themselves of the political liberty they had attained, to form a party of their race and language distinct from the British; and the Roman church presented a secure basis on which a close union of this character could be established. To this hour every French Canadian politician endeavours to bid higher than his opponent, to secure the support of the clergy. The fear, that some sinister design was conceived against the religion of the Canadians, was the one cause of distrust at this early date. The want of education of the *habitant* led him to concentrate all his most passionate attachment upon his church. Under circumstances of this character, it is a point on which jealousy can always be easily awakened. Even in modern times inferior writers, seeking to ingratiate themselves with men in power, and ambitious young politicians, having an eye to rural constituencies, still find it advantageous to exclaim against Protestant intolerance, in the effort to awaken groundless doubts and fears, and thus they create much unpleasantness of feeling. Many political *curés*, and in what creed is not this abuse of religious duty practised, still find it a help in their propaganda, to talk of the pernicious and demoralizing errors of Luther and Calvin. The two reformers are generally classed together, by men who have never read a line of their writings, and of whose lives they relate some monstrous fables, at which one with the slightest knowledge of history can only laugh. In the great body of the Canadian clergy there are many remarkable exceptions to this class; men highly educated and of extended acquirements, who certainly never set history at defiance. Politics, however, have become interwoven with a professional devotion to the church and a dependence on clerical influence. It was at this date, to some extent, that this tone of thought took its origin. For it was early seen, how the union of the two could lead to the establishment of a solid phalanx to act in one direction. Of late years, however, there are signs of disintegation; but it is impossible to foretell to what extent it may be carried.

Little can be narrated of the condition of the Roman catholic church during the interregnum, more than the services of religion were in all churches carried on in the ordinary form, without obstruction or interference. After the death of Mgr. Pontbriand the canons of Quebec met on the 2nd of

July, 1760, in the Ursuline chapel, Quebec, where they resolved that M. Briand should be placed in authority over that portion of the country which was under British authority. M. Perreault was charged with the government of Three Rivers, and M. Montgolfier with that of Montreal. After the establishment of peace was known, the chapter again met and unanimously elected M. Montgolfier, V.C., as bishop. He proceeded to England to obtain recognition of his election, but Murray objected to the appointment and it was not accepted. Montgolfier resigned and in doing so indicated Briand as his successor. Mgr. Briand being chosen, started for London with letters from Murray, who recommended his appointment. It was not until January, 1766, that the bull of acceptance was obtained from Rome. Briand was consecrated in Paris on the 16th of March, 1766, and arrived in Quebec on the 28th of June the same year. The bishopric had remained vacant for six years. The first *mandement* of Mgr. Briand, of the 26th of Jauuary, 1767, was the proclamation of a jubilee.

No change, however, took place in the form of government I have described until the 10th of August, 1764. On the abandonment of Canada to Great Britain, Murray was appointed captain general and governor of the province of Quebec: his commission bears date the 21st of November, 1763. He only received and published his appointment on the 10th of August, 1764, when he assumed the duties of his position. Murray had conducted his government with the care and consideration which had distinguished his rule from the commencement. The only change after the capitulation of Montreal was the reference of the disputes to the arbitration in the form observed in the other governments. Quebec, however, was exposed to an influence from which Montreal and Three Rivers had not suffered, having been the seat of a devastating war; consequently greater want was experienced by many of the population. Indeed, there was positive distress. Amherst reported to Pitt, on the authority of Murray, that many of the Canadians were in a miserable situation for want of some help and that the officers and merchants had assisted them, moreover, that the soldiers gave one day's provision in the month for the support of the needy.*

It has been frequently stated, and I believe to some extent, it is an accepted fact, that a large emigration from Canada to France took place not only at the capitulation of Quebec and Montreal, but after the peace. I have looked in vain to find any authority for the statement. Both in 1759, after the capture of Quebec, and in 1760, after the capitulation of Montreal, the several civil officials of these two districts accompanied the troops to France. No subsequent departure took place to any extent. On this point Gage wrote from Montreal, in March, 1762: "No persons have left this Government to go to France except Those who held Military and Civil Employment under the French King; nor do I apprehend any Emigration after the Peace, being Persuaded that the present Inhabitants will remain under the British Dominion. I perceive none preparing to leave the Government or that seem inclined to do it, unless it is a few Ladys whose Husbands are already in France, and they propose to leave the Country when Peace is made if their Husbands should not rather choose to return to Canada." †

At the same time Burton wrote "None have hitherto to my knowledge Emigrated from this Government and at present there seems no ground to fear the Emigration of any of them, the Gentry are the only People Who may perhaps Intend to Remove if the Country should Remain Under the Government of Great Britain. In general they Choose not to speak upon the Subject as they still flatter themselves with tacit and Distant hopes of the Country being Returned to its former Masters." ‡

Murray does not allude to the subject: it is reasonable to believe that if any such event had taken place, or was threatening to happen, he would have reported it. I can find nowhere any allusion to a numerous departure from Canada, and I should ask for strong proof that such was the case before I could give credence to it. Some French Canadian writers have alluded to the event, as if those, who left the province, regarded existence under the new government as one of misfortune and suffering. I have diligently made search to find any remark to warrant this view. Without fuller information on the subject, and none is extant as far as I can learn, my belief is that no such abandonment of Canada took place.

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* Can. Arch., A. & W. I., 96, p. 223.

† A. & W. I., 97, 1. p. 132.

‡ Can. Arch. A. & W. I., 97.1, p. 293.

Some ten or twelve names have been mentioned of those, leaving Canada under these circumstances, who subsequently obtained distinction in France. Two, so mentioned, may be at once taken from the list. Dumas surrendered at Montreal, and de Repentigny was included in the exchange of some officers and 447 men on the 1st of January, 1761. [Can. Arch. A. & W. I., 95, p. 12.]

All who dispassionately consider the narrative of the four years I have endeavoured to describe, cannot but recognize the beneficence of the British government towards the "new subjects," and the justice and moderation observed on all occasions. The Canadians were denied no single privilege. The offices of religion were performed with decency and order. Every man was paid for what work he performed, or what property he parted with. All were permitted freedom of domestic life, and were safe from wrong or insult or unjust government exactions: the conqueror shewed neither arrogance nor insolence. The desire was to reconcile the new subjects to the new government. If the *habitant* committed crime, if he were a murderer or a thief, or harboured deserters like an old subject, he came then within a jurisdiction of the military court. There was the same system of law for all, without regard to race or religion. The many acquittals shew that every opportunity was given to the accused to prove his innocence; there was no desire to convict. If the procedure was simple in its form, it was just in its principle, and a necessity in the conditions under which the country was held: there has no contemporary complaint come down to us. But in spite of all that has been positively said of the good government of that time, and the absence of all proof on the negative side, criticisms and invective, as absurd as they are unjust, have been thrown upon these first days of British rule. Some ridiculous deductions have been made to the answer of Amherst to the 41st article, which asked that the Canadians and Acadians should not be forced to bear arms against the most Christian king, viz.: "They became British subjects," a summary mode of negativing an untenable request.

Every description of privilege and of condition has been attempted to be twisted from these simple words, given in reply to what never should have been asked, with the desire to prove the hard treatment which the "unhappy Canadians" experienced. All, who will study the subject and honestly follow their convictions, must reject any such theory as false and untenable. Indeed, there is no brighter passage in the history of the empire, than the consideration shewn to the new subjects of Canada by those in power, who for four years held the country by right of conquest; *par droit de conquête.*

CHAPTER X.

In my humble judgment, it is not possible to record the negotiations which concluded with the peace of Paris without a narrative of the political events which took place in Great Britain during the twenty-eight months which intervened between the death of George II. and the signing of the definitive treaty. Most of the world's important changes of circumstance and dynasty have been rapidly accomplished; and if not immediately consummated, have, with little impediment, taken the form which led to the looked for development. The force which impelled them has often been insignificant; its true strength being, that it was exercised at a critical moment, when public sentiment was in accord with it. The rapidity, with which what may be called a political revolution took place in the first years of the reign of George III., is extraordinary in the sense that it was unlooked for, and at variance with opinion. The theories of government, which were then introduced, remained for sixty years, more or less in operation, to be followed by ten years of discontent, turmoil and depression. The effort to reform a parliament, which in no way fulfilled the functions it professed of being representative; the attempt to establish a press, free in the sense of having strength to defy the cabals of the court and of cliques interested in silencing it; the admitted necessity of publicity for parliamentary proceedings, the truest safe-guard of well balanced liberty; the recognition of merit above the claims of family and of men in power; the extension of education; the widening, it may be said the creation of sympathy between different classes; all these indispensable essentials, in the government of a free country, were utterly antagonistic to the attempt of George III. to govern, independently of party combinations and a responsible ministry, as autocratically as he saw fit. These concessions have only been obtained by nearly three-quarters of a century of constancy of purpose, determination, moderation and statesmanship, and in the memory of man have been permanently engrafted into the constitution.

No writer can allude to the period of Pitt's administration, in the reign of George II., without feeling every fibre of patriotism, which he possesses, strongly awakened. It has often been said, and it cannot be said too often, that it was the most glorious administration which to this day the empire has seen; and yet, in spite of public confidence and an almost universal assent in its policy, in spite of unlimited faith in Pitt's acknowledged genius, and without even the semblance of discontent in any direction, this administration, by the intrigues of the king, his mother and lord Bute, in eleven months was broken up.

Many circumstances have cast a halo over the memory of George III., and he is one of the most difficult characters to describe in history. He lived in an age when our present publicity of events was unknown. How different to the days of the queen: we have nothing to learn about her majesty. Her reign, as it is written to-day, will be an admitted chapter of history. Her fidelity to constitutional freedom, her goodness and sympathy with her people are facts, which by a free press have penetrated into the smallest dependency of the empire. They are not the fulsome praise of selfish and interested courtiers. They constitute the verdict of a period, when great intellectual vigour, strong political feeling, and the most unbounded liberty of speech have been exercised. The admiration of the queen is not merely personal: it is political. Our judgment receives its inspiration from that spirit of rational and well ordered liberty, which it is the pride of the constitution to extend to every land, blessed by living within the ample folds of the British flag.

It is necessary to bear in mind that during the first years of George III. the attempt was made to create the very opposite to this condition. Free thought became paralyzed in the success of the attempt, to increase the direct personal power of the monarch; and a generation grew up impressed with the respectability of these theories. There must always be a great impulse given to opinion by the habits and expressed views of a court. One of its influences is the establishment of what is held to be fashionable, against which the majority aiming at social distinction are unable to contend; certainly, they rarely attempt to do so. The younger generation of this date grew into manhood under the influence of the higher classes, who generally regarded the favour of the monarch as the only avenue to distinction. With a house of commons, most of the members of which looked to the court for advancement, and who would accept payment for their votes; without a press by which public questions were fearlessly discussed, there grew up a tone of thought which objected to any liberality of opinion as vulgar and common. This absence of public discussion not only negatively affected the general views of life; but it gave rise to a class of writers who found support by advocating things as they were, who stigmatized all attempts at change as revolutionary, and as a system, proclaimed the private virtues of the monarch, as a sufficient reply to all dissatisfaction and discontent.

George III. had many personal qualities which commanded respect, and had he lived in a less exalted station few would have died more honoured. He was simple in his tastes, with deep religious feeling, moral, abstemious, and he was laborious in undergoing the drudgery called for, by the discharge of his duty as king. As a husband and father he was irreproachable. He possessed courage never known to quail. His appearance was distinguished; he had the manners of a gentleman, and on trying occasions behaved with dignity. He never thought of his ease, he loved his country and desired to see her prosperous and great. In his old age blind and without his senses, his remarkable appearance evoked pity and respect. As such he has come down to the most of us; and he commands from those most opposed to his rule and government, an involuntary feeling of pity and reverence, in one sense even of regard.

It is not in this sense only, that a monarch of the British empire can be considered. George III. endeavoured to transform the constitutional rule of his grandfather into an arbitrary absolute government. It was not to attain any personal object he pursued this view ; he would have consulted his ease had he acted otherwise : but it was the desire to be as absolute as he beheld Maria Theresa or Louis XV. No explanation of his immense debts, amounting to three millions four hundred thousand pounds sterling can be given, except that the expenditure was incurred by bribing members of parliament. His household was even meanly conducted. The king had no extravagant tastes. George IV., who certainly knew good wine, once dining with the equerries at Windsor, found the claret so bad that he could not drink it. His education had been neglected; he was ignorant. Miss Burney tells us how he thought Shakespeare "sad stuff, only one must not say so." It would have been fortunate for his majesty if he had respected public sentiment in more important matters. He was obstinate and arbitrary in his opinions. Like many men of this inferior calibre he had faith in himself, considered his judgment to be infallible, and looked upon his prerogative as derived from heaven.

His character had been for the most part formed by the princess dowager, his mother ; but it is questionable if any influences would have developed into a correct mode of thinking, a mind so intensely subjective, daily exposed to the continual flatteries and obsequiousness of a court. All men in power, even those who are by no means royal personages, have to accept so much homage, that a wrong direction given to their opinions is easily conceivable. The monarch who can rise above this bewilderment must possess great force and vigor of mind, and be sustained by high principle, and an unconquerable sense of duty, based on wide, generous sympathies.

Augusta, of Saxe Gotha, the princess dowager, was at the king's death about forty-one years of age. She had arrived in England in 1736, when seventeen years old, to marry prince Frederick of Wales. We learn from the memoirs of lord Hervey, when presented to the king and queen "as she came in she threw herself all along the floor, first at the king's and then at the queen's feet. Her conduct gave the spectators great prejudices in favour of her understanding, which, on better acquaintance, mouldered away." She was fond of power, and had the narrowness of view entertained at a petty German court of a century and a half back, with an intense sense of her own weight in the state, and not disinclined to political intrigue. Her husband could have little commanded either her affections or her respect; but his death must have been seriously felt, in so far as she ceased to hope to enjoy the honour of being a queen. In her husband's life his home had been the centre of an opposition which gave trouble to the court. The widowed princess had the sense to see that she had everything to lose by continuing in this direction, and her conduct was marked by duty and obedience to the king.

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* The princess came to England with a single attendant, not having been permitted to bring any friend with her. Sir Robert Walpole was much struck by the success she had achieved. In one interview she gained the favour of the king; and her behaviour on meeting the prince at Greenwich had reconciled him to the marriage; to use Walpole's words, "It spoke strongly of brains that had but seventeen years old." Hervey has given us a description of her person. "She was rather tall, and had health and youth enough in her face, joined to a very modest and good-natured look to make her countenance not disagreeable, but a person from being ill made, a good deal awry, her arms long and her motions awkward, had in spite of all the finery of jewels and brocade, an ordinary look, which no trappings could cover or exalt." She knew no English and little French. It had been suggested to her mother, the year previous when the match was proposed, that she should study these languages, but in the maternal view it was unnecessary, for she said that the people about the English court spoke German as often and as well as English. The princess attracted some attention by her freedom from embarrassment. On this point, lady Suffolk, the daughter of count Grammont, remarked, "Pour moi je trouve qu'on juge très mal, si cette pauvre princesse avait le sens commun elle doit être embarrassée dans sa situation; quand on a un tel rôle a jouer, qu'on doit épouser un sot prince et vivre avec un désagréable animal, toute sa vie privée on doit sentir ses malheurs, et je suis sûre qu'elle est sotte, et même très sotte puis qu'elle n'est pas embarrassée, et qu'elle ne parait point confondue dans toutes les nouveautés parmi lesquelles elle se trouve."

The appearance of the princess Augusta led to a change of manner on the part of the prince himself, in his conduct to his brothers and sisters. He had hitherto been perfectly indifferent on points of etiquette. When the dinner, at which they were present in the princess' apartments, took place, all sorts of difficulties were raised. The prince claimed that he and his bride should sit in arm chairs, his

John Stuart, earl of Bute, was groom of the stole in the princess' household. He was born in 1713 and was thus three years older than the princess dowager. Shortly after he came of age, in the middle of a parliament, he had been elected to fill a vacancy among the Scotch representative peers. His votes given in support of tory opinions had caused his non-election at the next dissolution. He had lived for many years in retirement at his seat in the Hebrides. His introduction to the prince had been accidental. The prince was living at Cliefden, on the Thames, near Maidenhead,* and had attended Egham races. The rain came on; as it was proposed to amuse the prince by cards, it was desirable to find men of rank to play with him. Bute had been seen on the course, and being an earl his name suggested itself. There was difficulty in Bute finding his way home, for the person in whose carriage he had arrived, on hearing that he had joined the prince's party, had left. Prince Frederick, learning his embarrassment, invited him to return with him to Cliefden. It was the commencement of a long and intimate relationship. Bute was remarkably handsome, with agreeable manners. Not being able to take part in public life he had occupied his time

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brothers and sisters on stools, and that they should not be served on the knee. The princesses had received their instructions from the queen as to their conduct, and they remained in the anti-chamber till the stools were taken away and chairs carried in. They were served by their own servants, who were ordered to act as the princess' servants. But they had to go without coffee, for as it was poured out by one of the household of the princess of Wales, they refused to take any, from fear, that in accepting it, they would be subjected to some slight. [Lord Hervey's Memoirs, II., p. 113 et ult.]

A younger daughter of the princess dowager was the ill-fated Caroline Matilda, queen of Denmark. Her eldest daughter, when twenty-seven years old, married the hereditary prince of Brunswick. It was from his government that the Brunswick contingent, under general Riedesel, was obtained, which surrendered with the incompetent Burgoyne at Saratoga in 1776. A daughter of this princess was the unhappy queen Caroline, wife of George IV. The princess dowager was the mother of nine children.

* The seat of the duke of Westminster. It will always be memorable from the fact that it was at Cliefden "Rule Britannia," composed by Dr. Arne, was first played and sung, in 1740, in Thompson's masque of "Alfred." The original building was burned in 1795.

to some extent with literature, of which he affected to be a patron. He pretended to some acquaintance with mathematics and mechanics, and made claim to a critical knowledge of architecture and painting. He was undoubtedly fairly educated and possessed some reading. He had a fondness for private theatricals and, like many amateurs, obtained a reputation on slight pretensions. He always looked well on the stage and was carefully dressed: one of his special delights was the adaptation of dresses for masquerades. He had a remarkably fine leg. Lord Bute's legs indeed are constantly alluded to in the literature of the time. His enemies said that he passed many hours every day walking on the banks of the Thames that he might contemplate them in the placid waters. Bute is described by Horace Walpole on an occasion "when his bows grew more theatric and his graces contracted some meaning and the beauty of his leg became more displayed." In his amateur acting, the part of Lothario in "the Fair Penitent" was one in which particular care for his personal appearance was in accordance with the text. Wilkes, in his letter* to him, alluding to his performance in this part, remarked —"you were so great that the general exclamation was, that you did not act."

The allusion here must be plainly stated. At the time Bute was looked upon as the accepted lover of the princess royal, and no writer of any authority has hesitated to admit the fact.† The confidential relations between the two were remarkable, and every circumstance tends to establish that connection. No other cause can explain his sudden emergence from obscurity to power, and his equally sudden abandonment of it. George III. had a passionate love for his mother. It was mainly by her teaching and influence, that his character had been formed, to the misfortune of the empire. An equally unhappy direction had been given to the young king's mind, by many of the impulses, concerning the extent and unlimited nature of his prerogative, having been communicated by Bute.

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* 5th of March, 1763.

† On this point the reader may be referred to Walpole's George III., II., pp. 204-205; to lord Waldergrave's memoirs, p. 53, whose few words may be quoted, "nor were they (the sober and conscientious part of the world) much edified with other rumours * * * which were now universally credited." As early as 1756, Oct. 17th, Horace Walpole wrote to sir Horace Mann, "Peace is made between the courts of Kensington and Kew. Lord Bute, who had no visible employment at the latter and yet whose office was certainly no *sinecure* (*sic*) is to be groom of the stole to the prince of Wales; which satisfies." [Letters III., p. 207.] A common caricature of the date was a boot and a woman's smock, the former a play upon Bute's name, the latter an emblem of the power of the princess dowager. One of the productions of the day represented Bute and the princess as Æneas and Dido entering the cave, with the announcement that the play was to be

Bute's intellect was cold and unsympathetic, incapable of estimating events and opinions, except through the medium of his own feelings. His mind was narrow, and he could only imperfectly weigh what took place beyond the limited horizon of his observation. Frederick one day placed on record a fit estimate of Bute's abilities; he told him he was the man to be envoy at a small German court where there was nothing to do.

The princess dowager had kept the young king secluded from society. Those, who did not like her, said she had done so in order to retain her authority over him. Her own explanation was, that the profligate character of the young nobility would contaminate her children. She had based her theories of English politics on the experience of her young years in Saxe Gotha, and on the extreme views of the Jacobites,

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enacted within. Only a few days after the king's accession, a handbill was affixed to the royal exchange, "No petticoat government, no Scotch favourite, no lord George Sackville." The satires were numerous, many libellous, many of them objectionable from their obscenity. Wright mentions "The royal dupe." The princess of Wales is seated on a sofa lulling the young king to sleep on her lap: lord Bute is stealing his sceptre. Fox, the first lord Holland, is represented picking the king's pocket. Two pictures on the wall represent the scene from Hamlet and the fall of Mortimer. Wilkes brought out a new edition of the unfinished tragedy of Mortimer by Ben Jonson, with a burlesque dedication to Bute, trusting that he might experience that unfortunate man's fate.*

Horace Walpole records (3rd March, 1761) a caricature in which the princess is reproving Miss Chudleigh, one of her maids of honour, for some impropriety, upon which the lady replies "*Madame, chacune a son* BUT(e)."

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* Mortimer, the lover of queen Isabella, made prisoner by surprise at Nottingham Castle by Edward III., then in his eighteenth year, with the lords who took up his cause. He was brought before a parliament summoned to condemn him, and was hanged on a gibbet at Elmes, near London, in 1330.

who had become reconciled to the rule of her husband's family. As Hallam says: "her little court had arrived at the belief that the crown had been reduced to a state of vassalage." The future policy was doubtless often discussed and as often the dogma inculcated on her son by the princess. "George, be a king," which unhappily too readily took possession of his mind.

In the British constitution, notwithstanding the personal influence that the monarch may possess from his force of character, joined to the power which he can always exercise, as a political theory the king is without autocratic authority. Governing by the advice of his ministers, it is held that he can do no wrong, the policy which is followed, not being that of the king, but of the nation, represented by the ministry, sustained in their executive authority by a vote of the house of Commons. Whatever the theory, no one will dispute the direct personal influence of the sovereign under any circumstances. The young king, however, by his advisers, had been taught to desire its recognition as a direct and acknowledged principle. It was the doctrine never abandoned by the king during his long reign. His theory of government was that the policy should be conceived by the monarch; that the several ministers appointed could possess the most discordant opinions, parliament being controlled by "the king's friends," the name given to such members who voted as the king's will dictated, accepting this servile position from the gratuities they received. It was the period when the divine right of kings was fulsomely preached from the pulpit, while it was the professed creed of all who desired to push their fortunes by help of the public purse.

George III. succeeded, amidst universal acclamation. The country was at the height of power, in the full tide of success. Pitt's policy, which had achieved a series of triumphs abroad, had led to peace and prosperity at home. There was no opposition to his government. Among the first news which reached the country after the king's accession was the conquest of Canada. Nevertheless only a few hours were to pass when events took place that portended change. Within three days of the king's accession Bute was appointed to the privy council; and it was soon seen that he was in high favour with the young monarch.* Every one bowed down before the favourite; among them the duke of Newcastle, who expressed the hope he would see him in high employment and declared his readiness to serve under him. Pitt was not on good terms with Bute. There had been friendly feelings until the disgrace of lord George Sackville. Bute, for purposes of his own, desired to ward off the prosecution: Pitt had refused to intervene. At the first levee of the king much dissatisfaction had been felt by the consideration shewn to lord George Sackville, known to be a friend of Bute. This proceeding was looked upon with great disfavour by Pitt and has been described as one of the causes of his opposition to the favourite. The first speech of the king to the council was written by Bute. He introduced the words "a bloody and expensive war" and expressed the hope of obtaining "an honourable and lasting peace." Pitt objected to these words; they were a reflection on his own ministry, and the former policy of the kingdom, while the expression was impolitic. Three hours were consumed in expostulation before Pitt could obtain the substitution in the printed copy of the words "an expensive and necessary war" and the insertion after the word peace, "in concert with our allies."

It was on the point of peace that Bute desired to impress opinion: he had resolved to bring the war to a close by causing Great Britain to abandon her continental alliances, and to withdraw the troops from Hanover. He had no motives of patriotism in this course. It was dictated as a matter of personal advantage; he hoped to advance his ambitious views by creating a party to pursue this policy. There was strong argument by which the advocacy of peace could be enforced. The large increase of the debt; the heavy expenditure in the conduct of the war; the difficulty of obtaining men for service;

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* It was a witticism of the day, within two months after the king's accession, whether the king would burn in his chambers; "*Scotch* coal, *Newcastle* coal or *Pitt* coal."

there was, moreover, the feeling that Great Britain had obtained all that was possible in the contest; that in future the war must be continued on the continent, where Great Britain had no object to attain in regard to territory, or disputed rights; moreover, the burdens of the war began to be seriously felt. The one object attainable was the further reduction of the power of France to make impossible on her part, any renewal of her interference with the British possessions either in the east or west. One month after the king's accession, Bute was entering into intrigues to obtain power. He told Bubb Dodington, that lord Holderness, one of the secretaries of state, was prepared to pick a quarrel with his colleagues and resign, so that Bute could be appointed to his office in a natural way, without attracting attention. At this period the step appeared too hazardous; so it was delayed. Their great mark was Pitt, and in January, 1761, some five weeks later, it was agreed that pamphlets and handbills attacking him should be put out. On the 2nd of March, parliament was dissolved. Great bribery was exercised during the elections and every effort made to bring in the "king's friends." The government had a majority. Had the ministers been united they could have despised Bute's attempts to supplant them, and the policy of the king to obtain the government he desired. Pitts' fame was at its zenith, his genius universally acknowledged; while his honesty and patriotism made the executive unassailable, so long as it held together. In the time of George II., all jealousy had been repressed. Under the new aspect of events, discontents began to shew themselves. Legge, the chancellor of the exchequer, was no longer on cordial terms with Pitt. Many of Pitt's colleagues were envious of his popularity; others were angered by his imperious manner. In some cases there was dread and doubt as to the great expenditure which the country was being called upon to make; these views were represented by the duke of Bedford, the chancellor, lord Hardwicke, and George Grenville, Pitt's brother-in-law, the treasurer of the navy: lord Temple, his other brother-in-law, acted with Pitt.

These differences were publicly known, and encouraged Bute, who was powerful owing to the influences which sustained him, to act with vigour. Legge was dismissed; he had incurred the enmity of Bute by refusing to give his aid to one of Bute's creatures at an election in Hampshire, and in giving up the seals of office he was treated with much discourtesy.

The time was now ripe for the Holderness intrigue to be consummated. In March, five months' after the date when the proceeding had been considered hazardous, Holderness resigned his office, receiving as a reward the reversion of the wardenship of the Cinque ports, held by an old and infirm incumbent, the salary of which was £4,000 a year. Bute became secretary of state. Other changes had previously been made: Barrington was appointed chancellor of the exchequer; Charles Townshend, secretary of war; sir Thomas Dashwood, treasurer of the chamber: both followers of Bute. Baron Henley, the lord keeper, became lord chancellor. Among other changes Bubb Dodington received the title of lord Melcombe. On the 8th of September the king was married, the coronation taking place on the 21st of the month.

I cannot see evidence that Pitt was desirous of prolonging the war from feelings of personal interest. What he did desire was, that a peace should be made which would prove truly permanent, by being free from the danger of future complications. He would not have allowed the French any fishing rights in Newfoundland: he saw the dangers which were to be apprehended from such a condition. His political experience had taught him the many questionable claims which had arisen from the mischievous clauses admitted at the Peace of Utrecht, and he had avowed, no such treaty should ever again be passed while he could oppose it. His own declaration is conclusive on this point. "I contended," he said, during the debate on the treaty,* "several times in vain for the whole exclusive fishery, but I was overruled, not by the foreign enemy but by another enemy." After a period of one hundred and twenty-eight years the ancient dispute is reopened. A painful heritage of the incapable minister whose position had been obtained by the monarch's personal favour and who, if he foresaw, was also indifferent to the future evils his concession might call forth.

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* 9th of February, 1762.—138.

In the proposition for the cession of Canada Pitt added: "and its appurtenances," so no evasion of the meaning of the article could be based on want of completion of description. From the commencement he declared the terms on which Great Britain would make peace. There was no evasion and no intrigue to interfere with the negotiations. His course was direct and unswerving; his policy was the exaction of terms which he held to be indispensable to the greatness and security of Great Britain, and he declared that he would continue the war until he had obtained them.

De Choiseul was not averse to peace, but Madame de Pompadour was still desirous of pleasing "*sa bonne amie*," the empress-queen. There had been proposals for peace in 1759, and the French minister had written to Canada that it would be attained. The prospect of its acceptance had also paralyzed the British provinces: in expectation of its taking place, they delayed the enlistment of men, in the hope that the expense might be saved.

Early in 1761, de Choiseul induced Austria and Russia to join France in a declaration of their willingness to treat, and proposed a congress at Augsburg. De Choiseul, however, formed the opinion that matters would be greatly advanced by France and Great Britain first entering into negotiations for a separate treaty. With this view, Mr. Hans Stanley was sent to Paris by Pitt, and de Bussy arrived in London to represent France.

When de Choiseul wrote on the subject in March, he had offered to cede Cape Breton and Canada with other concessions in the West Indies and India. Each government was to retain the territory held in possession, in Europe on the 1st of May; in the West Indies and Africa on the 1st of July; in the East Indies on the 1st of September. Pitt contended that the principle of *uti possidetis* should be applied at the signing of the articles. Both argued in favour of the principles from which advantage could be drawn. The operations of the war were in no way relaxed, and Pitt determined to attack the island of Belle-Isle off the coast of Brittany. The spot was of no value to Great Britain, and the one object was to be able to urge its value as an exchange, in the settlement of the conditions. An expedition consisting of 9,000 land troops with several ships of war appeared before the place on the 8th of April. It was not until the 7th of June that the fortress capitulated. This event was followed by the taking of the island of Dominica in the West Indies, and by the surrender of Pondicherry.

I cannot myself agree with those writers who conceive that the conquest of Belle-Isle had a favourable influence on the negotiations ; the settlement of the conditions depended entirely on the strength with which they could be enforced. The loss of Belle-Isle powerfully affected France ; it was the re-establishment of their ancient enemies on French territory, the renewal of the days when the English held France, which the people believed had forever passed away, when Calais was conquered by Guise in the time of the Tudor Bloody Mary. The capture of Belle-Isle awoke the whole national spirit. De Choiseul availed himself of the feeling, and he secretly urged cardinal La Roche-Amion to incite the parliament of Languedoc to offer a vessel of war to the king, as in the wars of the succession it had raised a regiment of dragoons.

The vote was unanimously carried. Throughout the whole country the cry was, that the marine should be re-established. Everywhere the example was followed and on all sides offers of ships of war were made. Sixteen vessels were promised from the several ports of France.* These donations amounted in value to thirteen millions of *livres*. Great activity pervaded the sea ports which since 1759 had remained gloomy and silent, and in every direction along the coast, vessels were to be seen in course of construction, or under repair.

The negotiations, however, continued. From this date we begin to trace Bute's presence in the council. Pitt's advocacy of peace had been hitherto unflinching in its adherence to the conditions he had named. On the 29th of July the terms sent from London were moderated. The offer was made to restore Guadaloupe, Marie Gallante and Belle-Isle, the French to cede Canada without new limits or any exception soever. The demand, for Cape Breton or any island in the gulf of St. Lawrence by France, was rejected. The privilege of fishing on the coast of Newfoundland would be granted, only on the consideration of the demolition of the fortifications of Dunkirk.

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* The list is given by Henri Martin, XV., p. 581.

The French claimed that Cape Breton should be restored, or the privilege of fishing on its coast be granted. They adhered to their treaty rights of fishing on Newfoundland. They objected to the demolition of Dunkirk. A demand was made for the return of all captures by sea, taken before the war. The consideration of matters on the continent presented greater complications. De Choiseul offered to withdraw the French troops, but on condition that the force under prince Ferdinand should not operate with that of Prussia. Pitt's lofty idea of the greatness of England and of what was due by a power of the first rank to an ally, had led him unmistakably to declare, that no separate peace could prevent the king of Great Britain from aiding his ally, the king of Prussia, as he deemed proper.

Events in the meantime were shaping themselves in France, to lead de Choiseul to refuse the acceptance of conditions, which otherwise he would have been driven to admit. The financial position of France had gone on from bad to worse. In 1759, Silhouette * had endeavoured to reduce the expenditure and to obtain money in all directions. He had been replaced by Bertin, but the same poverty of resource continued. In this desperate condition, de Choiseul had the good fortune to impress the king of Spain with the necessity of

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* We retain his name in the black outline portrait which has not entirely disappeared, but which before the days of photography, was so general. The French, from its poverty of colour, gave it the name of that minister as a satire on his economy. They extended this sentiment in other directions. There were trousers *à la Silhouette:* they had no pockets.

joining France in the war. Charles III. was on the throne, having been translated from the crown of Naples to that of Spain. He hated England: he had never forgotten or forgiven the presence of a British fleet at Naples, when he was called upon, within an hour, to sign a treaty of neutrality, in other words not to join the coalition against Maria Theresa, or the city would be bombarded. The king accepted these hard conditions, but with a feeling of detestation of the power which had exacted them. During the negotiations with France, Spain had expressed dissatisfaction with Great Britain on several points. There was always the British possession of Gibraltar, and the question of the future sovereignty of Minorca, to excite peninsular feeling. With this sentiment to play upon in connection with the ambassador at Paris, Grimaldi, de Choiseul was successful in leading to the arrangement known as the "Family Compact."

The kings of France and Spain declared that any power becoming the enemy of one country was the accepted enemy of the other. They mutually guaranteed their territories, and admitted to the union the king of Naples and the duke of Parma, on their acceptance of its conditions. The full strength of each government, in case of requirement, was to be put forth; and as the first aid, the power called upon should, within three months, place at the disposal of the other kingdom twelve ships of war and six frigates; 80,000 troops if France was to intervene; 12,000 if Spain. Spain was not forced to take part in the continental wars in Germany, unless a maritime power should intervene, or French territory was attacked; shewing clearly the direction of the alliance against Great Britain. In that case Spain would furnish 24,000 men. The force was placed at the absolute disposal of the power it was sent to assist, but the maintenance of it was enforced upon the power furnishing it. The operations of war were to be conducted in joint accord. Peace was only to be concluded on the principle, that each monarch should look upon the cause of his ally as his own, and in the adjustment of compensations, France and Spain should act as one power. No relationship would be admitted into the compact, except by a royal personage of the Bourbon blood. The flags of both powers were to obtain equal consideration in the ports of the two countries. Any foreign alliances, even any negotiations which might be commenced, were to be communicated.

The convention was kept entirely secret. The further condition was added that if peace with Great Britain were not made by the 1st of May, 1762, Spain would then declare war. Portugal was to be invited to join the convention. Minorca was promised to Spain, and Spain was dazzled with the prospect of obtaining Gibraltar.

The conditions embraced in the treaty of the "Family Compact,"* as it is called in history, were at the time looked upon by its originators as likely to cause great results. De Choiseul, as his engagements with Spain became more assured, changed his manner to the English envoy, and in discussing the terms with Stanley he had remarked, that if the war was to continue, France would take the field with other allies. Intelligence was received at this time of preparations being made in Spain, which evidently were intended for the attack of Gibraltar. In order to lead Pitt to recognize this newly attained strength, de Bussy, when submitting some propositions on the part of France, presented a French memorial with regard to the affairs of Spain, dated the 15th of July, on the ground that the treaty under discussion might not be affected by the demands of another power. This paper proceeded to recapitulate the demands of Spain; the restitution of captures made previous to the war; the right of fishing in Newfoundland; and the destruction of the settlements of Honduras. De Choiseul asked for an adjustment of these points, with the request that Spain might be invited to guarantee the peace.

Pitt's answer was an expression of indignation at such a demand, and that its repetition would be regarded as an insult,† while lord Bristol was notified to inform the Spanish court, that it would not aid the settlement of any question by addressing it through France. The ambassador at the same time was called upon to ask an explanation of the armaments which were being made. The most pacific professions were given in reply. The object on this occasion was to obtain delay, so that the treasure ships from South America could reach the Spanish ports.

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* The French term is the same, "*pacte de famille.*"

† He replied to M. de Bussy: "It is my duty to declare to you, in the name of His Majesty, that he will not suffer the disputes with Spain to be blended in any

The news of the treaty was positively made known by lord Marischal, who had lately obtained pardon as a Jacobite and had lived some years in Spain ; other sources led to the conviction that the treaty of union existed. Pitt acted in the spirit of his early resolution and statemanship. He broke off the negotiations with France, recalled Stanley from Paris and gave de Bussy his passport.

Convinced of the intentions of Spain, Pitt was desirous of declaring war. He designed to attack Havanna and the Philippines, and to send a large fleet to await the arrival of the treasure ships. Bute declared the course rash and unadvisable. His policy was peace, and to accept Pitt's views would be to retrocede on the path he had followed. The only member of the government who adhered to Pitt was lord Temple. Pitt immediately resigned : this event took place on the 5th of October, in less than a twelvemonth from the late king's death.

The parting scene at this meeting has been preserved and has been recorded in the Annual Register of the year, I have no doubt with the design of shewing what Pitt's enemies called his arrogance, and of establishing the statesmanship of those who opposed him. When Pitt saw that his proposal to declare war was rejected, with great warmth he rose and said "that he was called to the ministry by the voice of the people, to whom he considered himself accountable for his conduct,

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manner whatever in the negotiation of peace between the two crowns ; to which I must add, that it will be considered as an affront to His Majesty's dignity to make further mention of such a circumstance. Moreover, it is expected, that France will not at any time, presume a right of intermeddling in such disputes between Great Britain and Spain."

and he would not remain in a situation which made him responsible for measures he was no longer allowed to guide." Lord Carteret (earl Granville) replied on the part of the council: "I can hardly," he said, "regret the right honourable gentleman's determination to leave us, as he would have otherwise compelled us to leave him; but if he be resolved to assume the right of advising His Majesty and directing the operations of the war, to what purpose are we called to this council? When he talks of being responsible to the people, he talks the language of the house of commons and forgets that at this board he is only responsible to the king. However, though he may possibly have convinced himself of his infallibility, still it remains that we should be equally convinced, before we can resign our understandings to his direction, and join with him in the measures he proposes."*

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* What may almost be called the last sentences uttered by lord Carteret [earl Granville] relative to the peace, have been often repeated, as if in themselves sufficient to justify its character. It was the duty of the under-secretary of state, Mr. Wood, to submit to him the preliminary articles. Wood found him so languid that he proposed to postpone reading them. Carteret, however, insisted that Wood should continue; and adding that he would not prolong his life by the neglect of his duty, he quoted from the twelfth Iliad, a passage of the speech of Sarpedon to Glaucus.

Ὦ πέπον, εἰ μὲν γὰρ πόλεμον περὶ τόνδε φυγόντε,
Αἰεὶ δὴ μέλλοιμεν ἀγήρω τ' ἀθανάτω τε
Ἔσσεσθ', οὔτε κεν αὐτὸς ἐνὶ πρώτοισι μαχοίμην,
Οὔτε κέ σὲ στέλλοιμι μάχην ἐς κυδιάνειραν·
Νῦν δ', ἔμπης γὰρ κῆρες ἐφεστᾶσιν ϑανάτοιο
Μυρίαι, ἃς οὐκ ἔστι φυγεῖν βροτὸν, οὐδ' ὑπαλύξαι,
Ἴομεν· *

Iliad XII., 322–328.

As he finished the lines, he described the late events as the most glorious war, and the most honourable peace the nation ever saw. Two days after this he died, in January, 1763.

Lord Mahon remarks, "the calm reflections of posterity will not confirm this

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* "Oh my friend! if indeed by avoiding this battle, we could be certain that eternally we would escape old age and death, I would neither fight in the foremost ranks, nor send you onward to the combat, giving such glory to men. But since myriads of the fates of death are present, from which it is not possible for a mortal to flee, or to escape, let us now go onward."

To me the answer reads as establishing the extraordinary influence which Bute had attained, and that being regarded as representing the king's opinions, he was unopposed by those he called his colleagues.

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partial judgment." The true question is not the advantages derived from this peace, but what the conditions ought to have been, and what they would have been, with a different first minister and a different negotiator to lord Bute and the duke of Bedford.

CHAPTER XI.

The resignation of Pitt placed the actual power in Bute's hands, although owing to the presence of the Duke of Newcastle in the Ministry, he was not its ostensible head. Newcastle read the progress of events so oppositely to their true significance, that in the first instance he viewed Pitt's retirement with satisfaction. The loss to the nation, in the crisis of its history, did not cross his mind. There had always remained a jealousy of Pitt's power, and he believed that his removal opened the way for the ancient ascendency, which he had himself formerly possessed. He was soon undeceived: he was early made to feel that his presence in the government was of no account. Questions of the highest importance were determined without his knowledge. On all sides he experienced slight. Bute behaved to him with insolence, and the king treated him with such a want of consideration, that Newcastle felt it to be designed. In May, 1762, he abandoned his position. On no occasion did Newcastle shew greater dignity of character; he refused the pension offered to him, although his fortune had been greatly impaired by his political career. Bute now became the first minister, and George Grenville was named secretary of state in his place. Thus, within eighteen months of the king's accession Bute attained the highest dignity in political life, displacing a minister whose name remains a household word. At the death of George II. Bute was unknown in politics. He was a commonplace personage, his reputation having never risen higher than that of a tolerable amateur actor. He was totally unaccustomed to public business, without parliamentary training, and although stopping short at no corruption, and at no wrong or injustice towards those who stood in his way, he was incapable of managing men. Many politicians owe their success to their skill in reading character, and knowing how to apply the prizes at their disposal. Without true ability and originality of mind, and guiltless of all patriotism, there are men able to marshal in order those persons, whose services and praises they know how to acquire, and thus retain influence and power. Bute entirely failed during his brief career in impressing what is called in modern times a "following." He must be regarded as a political Phaeton entrusted for the hour with the chariot of state, who in the fable, unable to control his steeds nearly set fire to the earth. The myth tells us that Helios was persuaded by the Oceanid Clymene to entrust his chariot to his son to drive across the heavens. Like his prototype, Bute owed to female influence the prominence he briefly enjoyed,* to be struck down by the lightning of his own unpopularity, and by the formidable responsibilities and the immense embarrassments in which, on every side, he had become entangled.

It was not possible to displace Pitt from the office which he had held with so much dignity and power without giving rise to strong discontent, and creating an excitement in public feeling, difficult to control. Although the council had followed Bute in rejecting Pitt's policy, and the facts under which his resignation took place could not be disclosed, it was well known that it had been caused by Bute's opposition. Everything was done to conciliate Pitt: he was offered the governorship of Canada, with a salary of £5,000 a year as a sinecure, for in those days residence was not exacted. He was promised the position, with the understanding that a bill should be brought into the house of commons authorizing the retention of his seat in parliament while holding office. Pitt's answer was that he required nothing for himself. He was devoted to his wife, and it was intimated that an honour paid to her would be acceptable to himself. The result was that she was created a baroness, with a pension of £3,000, for three lives, and it must be admitted that his eminent services justified this mark of royal favour. The grant of the barony and of the pension were published in the gazette which announced his resignation, evidently with the design of destroying the prestige attached to his name. The proceeding was not wholly without success. The knowledge that Pitt accepted the favour of the court was not welcomed by his admirers. The feeling we now entertain, after an interval of a century and a quarter, may be compared to the sentiment which was then experienced. In the first instance few of us read the narrative with satisfaction ; but it is not possible to put out of view that Pitt was poor, that he had performed important services with great disinterestedness, and that he was entitled to recognition by the country. As his unpopularity rapidly passed away with his contemporaries, so the modern reader must accept the uncontrollable force of the circumstances under which he acted.*

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* Bute resigned 8th of April, 1763.

There was one source of strength which Bute sought and which he highly valued, the aid of the political writer. He became the patron of all who would minister to his purpose, and he found out the channels by which he could enlist the most wretched scribbler of scandal. He early endeavoured to bring together a class of supporters gathered from among needy, struggling authors, whose poverty led them to bespatter with praise, or befoul with abuse as their patron instructed them. At the same time he selected men of high rank in letters, to whom he shewed attention. It was he who gave the pension to Johnson; but Shebbeare, whose insolent attacks on the house of Hanover had placed him in the pillory, also experienced the royal bounty. Both Smollett and Arthur Murphy received favours from him. George III. must have been ignorant of Shebbeare's offensive attacks against the house of Hanover for he had described the "white horse," the badge of the elector of Hanover, as "an ignominious mark of slavery." Hogarth, on the accession of George III., had been appointed "sergeant painter to all his majesty's works." In September, 1762, he issued the caricature of "the Times," No. 1, as if it was to be one of a series. It was an attack upon Pitt; Europe is shewn in flames, Bute is endeavouring to extinguish the fire, but is prevented by Newcastle bringing a barrowful of North Britons, and other papers. Churchill and Wilkes did not patiently submit, they retorted savagely upon Hogarth. The quarrel, which may be described as celebrated, now followed. Hogarth died on the 26th of October, 1764; many trace his death to the pain he suffered from the remorseless mode in which he was assailed; but it must be remembered that in the first instance he had wantonly commenced the attack. "The Times," plate II., now included in his works, in which Wilkes is shewn in the pillory, was found among his papers, but it was not published till some years after his death, when all feeling in the quarrel had passed away. The probability is that it was held back from motives of prudence.

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* The story of Pitt bursting into tears when attending a levee on the king saying a few kind words to him is well known. "I confess, sir, he said, I had too much reason to expect your Majesty's displeasure. I did not come prepared for this exceeding goodness. Pardon me, sir, it overpowers, it oppresses me." His emotion is perhaps not difficult of explanation. Pitt was present with the strong feeling that his reward for the great services he had performed had been arrogance and insult. He came prepared to receive slight and neglect, the unexpected civility of the king, possibly unlooked for, overmastered him. A man of great sensibility and of quick impulse, he was unable to control emotion, which he well understood was not in character with the scene, or his own dignity. Carried away by a revulsion of feeling which he could not master, he strove to justify it as he was best able. His letter to Bute of the 7th of October, 1761, is more difficult of explanation. [Chatham Correspondence, II., p. 149.] There can be no doubt of its genuineness for it has been published from a draft in Pitt's own handwriting. It suggests that an office besides that of the government of Canada was offered to him. He says, "I trust that it will be judged obedience, not presumption, if I express the doubt I have as to the propriety of my going into either of the offices mentioned, or indeed considering that which I have resigned, going again into any whatever."

The letter, from its fulsome humility, is positively painful to read. It is unworthy of the most commonplace politician. In my poor judgment, Pitt, in his desire to put to paper a finished rhetorical composition, lost sight of those higher principles by which, in so many difficult circumstances of his career, he had been guided. Even in this point of view it is a mean production.

The attacks upon Pitt increased in virulence after his retirement. A defect in his character was his striving for effect, and after his resignation he advertised his carriage horses for sale. He was caricatured as the "distressed statesman"; he was represented as one suffering from a disappointed career, who, broken in spirit, had gone back, a political wreck, to private life ; his very successes were paraded to his disgrace.* He was represented as the evil spirit of war, as an incendiary, who, by his policy, had burned and destroyed from the sheer love of bloodshed and ruin. His wife's peerage was the continual theme of the purchased satirist, and prophecies were made of his unscrupulous opposition to the king's good and benevolent design of obtaining peace.

The retirement of Pitt in no way led to peace, and the events which followed proved how wisely he had judged, and the intuitive power he possessed of penetrating the policy of foreign states. It soon became evident that the pacific assurances of Spain were dictated by no other motive, than to gain time in order to complete her preparations, and to admit the arrival of the ships bearing the treasure from South America. They at length reached port, and as fear of naval attack had been quieted, the claims of Spain were renewed with offensive pertinacity. The consequence was that the earl of Bristol, the ambassador at Madrid, was ordered to return home. The Spanish ambassador, de Fuentes, previous to leaving London, addressed so insulting a memoir to lord Egremont, the new secretary of state, that war was declared against Spain on the 4th of January, 1762. No higher praise can be given to Pitt's diplomacy.

Bute, however, still persevered in his efforts to effect peace, regardless of the situation in which the country was placed. One of his designs was the abandonment of Prussia. No policy could be more at variance with the observance of good faith, due to an ally, and the mode in which an attempt was made to influence public opinion was equally objectionable. The duke of Bedford, who had abandoned the Whigs and been appointed by Bute lord privy seal, moved an address in the house of lords to withdraw the troops from Germany. Bute, as prime minister, met this motion, made by a member of his government, by the previous question. The one objection he could urge, was as to the mode and time when the address was moved, not from his sense of duty of adherence to the cause of the ally of his country. It was not the only act of duplicity in this direction. In January the death took place of the czarina Elizabeth of Russia, the constant enemy of Prussia. She was succeeded by Peter, duke of Holstein, an admirer of Frederick the Great, who, in a short time espoused his cause. Bute advised the Russian minister to represent to the czar, the policy of adhering to the Austrian side and not withdraw his troops from Prussia; for the king of Prussia would then be compelled to make concessions to lead to peace, and that Great Britain was not interested in his preservation beyond a certain extent. The czar sent the despatch of prince Gallitzin to the king of Prussia, who placed it in the hands of the British ambassador. Bute denied that he had been correctly understood. The reader can form his own opinions of the evidence; but this may be said, that it does not appear possible that such a proposal would have been invented by the Russian ambassador. Bute, by claiming that he was misunderstood, admits that a conversation took place, and the words attributed to him were in accordance with the policy he professed.

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* There is a caricature, $8\frac{9}{16}$ by $6\frac{9}{16}$ inches, in which Pitt is shewn sustained by an immense bubble, on which is inscribed "Pride, Conceit, Patriotism, Popularity," while small bubbles are dispersed around, inscribed "Spanish war," "Honesty," "North America," "Self-importance." Holding a dish of soap suds in his left hand, in his right there is a tobacco pipe, from which he is blowing the bubble "Moderation." A rising sun, evidently Bute, appears above Westminster Hall. The legend is added "Sic transit gloria mundi." The whole execution of this etching suggests it to be the work of Hogarth, although unacknowledged. It is of the same character as the two productions "The Times" alluded to in the text.

The war was carried on with a continuance of the success of former years. The spirit of Pitt survived beyond the shores of Great Britain, although his genius no longer directed her councils. In the West Indies, in February, 1762, Martinique was taken; the surrender of the smaller islands of Grenada and Saint Lucia and Saint Vincent followed. The more important conquest of the Havannah succeeded. On the 5th of March the expedition left Portsmouth; the land troops were commanded by the earl of Albermarle, the fleet by admiral sir George Pocock. There were nineteen ships of the line, eighteen smaller vessels of war, one hundred and fifty transports. The land forces amounted to 10,000 men. The place was obstinately defended, but the siege was conducted with the spirit and bravery which Pitt had called forth in the services, and which again proved irresistible. On the 14th of August the place surrendered. Nine ships of the line and four frigates were taken ; five were destroyed, some being on the stocks, others burned during the siege. The booty taken amounted to three millions sterling. During the year several Spanish vessels were captured, among them a galleon containing treasure amounting to a million. In the east, sir William Draper, from Madras, captured the Phillippine islands. Thus the national prestige retained its pre-eminence.

The one advantage claimed by Spain was the capture of the Portuguese settlement of St. Sacramento, and the temporary advantage obtained by the French at St. John's, Newfoundland.

One of the results of Pitt's retirement from office was the confidence it gave to France. It was soon known and felt that there were other rulers in England, and that the power was no longer the same which had effected the conquest of Louisbourg and Quebec. In May, 1762, a French squadron of some strength sailed from Brest, its destination being Newfoundland. It consisted of "le Robuste," 74, "l'Eveillé," 74, "la Garonne," 44, "la Licorne," 30, and a bomb ketch, with 1,500 soldiers. Sir Edward Hawke, with seven ships of the line and two frigates, went in pursuit but failed to meet the enemy. The French fleet was seen some fifty leagues north of the Lizard by admiral sir Joshua Rowley. His force was inferior in strength but he prepared to engage. The French refused the challenge and sailed away to carry out the object of the expedition. On June, the 24th, a landing was made at Bay Bull, twenty miles to the south of Saint John's, and by a land march the garrison was surprised: it consisted of sixty-three men, such was the condition in which Bute had left this important station. The "Grammont," sloop of war, was in the harbour. Her crew, with the garrison, were made prisoners. The French seized the merchant vessels and took possession of everything of value in the place, and immediately commenced the improvement of the fortifications, with the design of permanently holding the harbour.

Captain Douglas, in command of a small squadron off the coast, hearing of the approach of the French fleet, engaged two merchant vessels, appointing officers to them, with instructions to cruise off the banks to meet the convoy from England, and to relate what had been reported. They were ordered to proceed to Halifax with letters to Amherst and to return with supplies to Placentia. One of these vessels carried out the duty without any adventure. The second, the "Bonella," sloop, heard of the landing of the French, and on the outer edge of the great bank met the governor Graves, who was making a cruise through these waters and had been joined by a large number of merchantmen. The news prevented these vessels from sailing into the harbour of Saint John's and becoming prizes to the French. The "Bonella" proceeded to Halifax to ask for help. Lord Colville immediately sailed with the fleet under his command for Newfoundland. On the 11th of September, he was joined by colonel Amherst, with 800 regulars, principally highlanders, and some provincial troops. They landed, not without opposition, seven miles north of Saint John's, and forced their way to the attack of the harbour, storming a height, "Signal Hill," which commanded the place. Lord Colville with his fleet blockaded the port, when the elements intervened to save the French. A violent storm drove the British ships from the coast. A heavy fog succeeded, and the French ships seized the opportunity of leaving the port. On lord Colville's return the vessels had escaped, and were too far east to be pursued.

Colonel Amherst commenced his attack on the 16th; on the 17th the batteries were opened. On the third day the town capitulated. The garrison, unsustained by the fleet, surrendered as prisoners of war, to be carried to France. The

French design had been to hold Newfoundland, and a frigate with considerable supplies and many military stores was despatched to Saint John's, but she was taken by captain Hervey, afterwards lord Bristol. The French were in possession of Newfoundland from the end of June until September. During these three months many of the inhabitants suffered great loss and underwent much privation. Two citizens of Newfoundland, Robert Carter and Garland, are yet remembered for the beneficence and patriotism which they shewed on this trying occasion. It was the last attempt of the French to seize Newfoundland.

The news reached London and there arose a violent outcry against the ministry from their failure to protect the fisheries; the reverse being so at variance with what had taken place during the administration of Pitt. The writers in the pay of Bute did their best to quiet opinion by describing the island as barren and of little value; nevertheless steps were taken to redeem the disaster. Previous, however, to any expedition reaching Newfoundland, the French had been defeated and the port was again under the British flag.

To any statesman of ability the attempt would have shewn the value the French attached to the fishing privileges, and that any demand made by them should be jealously considered. Bute's want of experience, joined to his being intent on furthering his own interests, and in extending the royal prerogative, made him incapable of profiting by the teaching. The objectionable concessions, granted by him at the peace, have left behind them the seeds of difficulty, which it will require much delicate and conciliatory diplomacy to unravel. If there was no word but Newfoundland in the treaty of Paris, it would be enough to establish the blight which Bute's presence cast upon the empire.

There is a charge brought against Bute which it is not possible to pass over unnoticed, that he was the recipient of money from France, to influence him in the settlement of the peace. We know, by de Torcy's memoirs, that it was a weapon in use with the French to purchase the services of the foreign negotiator.* We know that large sums were offered to Marlborough to admit the conditions which the French desired, and that it was a part of their system to obtain by these indirect means the conditions they deemed essential.†

Bute married the daughter of lady Mary Wortley Montagu, by whom he had a large family. Her father, Mr. Wortley, did not die until 1761; his brother, who inherited the property, lived to 1777, when it came to lady Bute. How Bute obtained money to enable him to build a large mansion is inexplicable. The charge was made in Bute's life unequivocally by doctor Musgrave, who had been a physician in practice in Paris in 1763: he was known in the literary world as a translator of some of the tragedies of Euripides. He publicly stated that Bute and the princess dowager had received money from the French to influence him in the settlement of the peace. The matter came up before the house of commons some years afterwards, in January, 1770, when Musgrave persevered in his assertion, which he supported by what he held to be facts, and the circumstantial evidence which he could offer. The house voted the charge to "be frivolous and unworthy of credit." Musgrave lived until 1780 and no attempt was made to prosecute him. Junius describes the house of commons as "awed by his firmness and integrity and that it had sunk beneath it."

Whatever the success of the army and navy of Great Britain, it had little weight with Bute. He had commenced his attempt to gain power by the policy of peace and by dissevering the king from continental alliances, and he urged on his purpose at the sacrifice of every principle of statesmanship. Without the knowledge of any member of the cabinet, but it certainly may be added, with the acquiescence and authority of the king, he carried on secret peace negotiations through count Viri, the Sardinian ambassador. When it was felt that a more official character could be given to the proceedings, the duty of continuing them was entrusted to the duke of Bedford.

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* Ante II., p. 524.

† Wilberforce has left on record in his private diary: "I dined with lord Camden * * * He is sure that lord Bute got money by the Peace of Paris. He cannot account for his sinking near £300,000 in lands and houses; and his paternal estate in the island which bears his name is not above £1,500 a year; and he is a life-tenant only of Wortley, which may be £8,000 or £10,000."

It is not the purpose of the writer to enter into an extended narrative of the imperial events of this period. The general conditions, however, of the articles agreed upon may be stated. Great Britain obtained Canada, Nova Scotia and Cape Breton and the West India islands of Saint Vincent, Dominica, Tabago and Grenada. Minorca was restored to Great Britain. She likewise obtained possession of Senegal, in Africa; and France was bound to keep no troops, and raise no fortifications in Bengal.

The Spanish pretensions were abandoned. The questions of capture were referred to the British courts of law; the British were admitted to cut logwood at Honduras; the Spanish relinquished all claim to fish off Newfoundland. Havannah was given back to Spain. In return the present state of Florida was ceded to the British provinces; and France as compensation transferred Louisiana to Spain.

France and England agreed to abstain from prosecuting the war in Germany: the French to restore territories held by them in Hesse and Hanover; Dunkirk was to be reduced to the state, in which it was after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

The cession of Canada was accompanied with the condition "that the king of Great Britain would give the most effectual orders, that his new Roman Catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion according to the rule of the Romish church as far as the laws of Great Britain permit." The inhabitants had also liberty of retiring from Canada to France with their property unrestrained within eighteen months.* France received the islands of Guadaloupe, Martinique and Saint Lucia, and was allowed the right of fishing in Newfoundland and in the gulf of Saint Lawrence. Her fishermen were, however, unable to approach within fifteen leagues of Cape Breton.

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* The articles of the treaty of Paris referring to Canada and Newfoundland are given at the end of the chapter.

There was one point which Great Britain should have exacted, the abandonment of all right of interference with her possessions, and it was one which the intuitive genius of Chatham fully embraced in the concession of the Newfoundland fisheries. They had only been granted by the treaty of Utrecht after Marlborough had been removed. The attempt of France to regain a footing in Newfoundland when lord Colville drove away her fleet, ought to have suggested to the British negotiators that it was a condition on which firmness should have been unrelaxed. Bute not only renewed the conditions of the treaty of Utrecht, but he ceded the islands of Saint Pierre and Miquelon. The offer of one of these islands had been made by Pitt: but it is plain that the influence of Bute in the council and his self assertion had obtained this concession. Only fifty men were to be kept on the island, and an English commissary was to have the right of inspection that the condition was complied with. In the articles of the treaty the latter point was not admitted.

It will scarcely be considered credible that Bute was prepared to give back Havannah to Spain without an equivalent. The duke of Bedford was of the same opinion. Indeed it was not possible to have a more incapable negotiator than Bedford. The acceptance of the conditions had been delayed by Grimaldi in the hope that he would hear of the repulse of the British force in Cuba. When the news was announced that Havannah was taken he had nothing more to say. Other delays, however, presented themselves. Bute would have concluded peace as if this conquest had never been made. The opposition of lord Egremont and George Grenville led Bute to exact some equivalent, and the cession of Florida resulted. No provision was made with regard to the Phillipine islands, the consequence was that the ransom exacted by sir William Draper was never paid.

The preliminaries were signed on the 3rd of November; it now remained to carry them through the British parliament.

The question was how a favourable vote should be obtained. Fox, the first lord Holland, undertook to effect this result, and his title was the price of his effort. Votes of members were obtained by the lowest species of corruption ; they were not only paid for in money, but every inducement was given by the creation of offices, and the distribution of shares in a lottery which rapidly gained a premium. Intimidation of the most disgraceful kind was practiced. To destroy all opposition Fox conducted a persecution against the humblest holders of office who had been appointed during Chatham's administration. The whole proceeding forms one of the most scandalous and painful passages in the history of the empire. The duke of Devonshire was dismissed from the office of chamberlain with extreme insolence, The dukes of Newcastle and Grafton and the marquis of Rockingham were removed from their offices of lord lieutenant. Fox and Bute acted upon the principle, that every one, receiving government pay for services should owe his position to them, so they could count on most servile and unflinching obedience.

It was by these means only that the treaty was carried through the British parliament, the vote being 319 to 65.*

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* John Ross Mackay, secretary to the earl of Bute, was afterwards for seventeen years treasurer of the ordnance. He died about 1796. In 1790, at a dinner at the earl of Bessborough's, Cavendish square, one of the five present repeated to Wraxall, that the conversation turning on the means of governing the house of commons, Mackay said that "money formed after all the only effectual and certain method. The peace of 1763 was carried through and approved by a pecuniary distribution. Nothing else could have surmounted the difficulty. I was myself the channel through which the money passed. With my own hand I secured over one hundred and twenty votes on that most important question to ministers. Eighty thousand pounds were set apart for the purpose. Forty members of the house of commons received from me (£1,000) one thousand pounds each. To eighty others I paid five hundred pounds apiece."

Bessborough felt so strongly the imprudence of this avowal, that on the following day he sent to those who were present not to divulge it in Mackay's life. [Wraxall, III., p. 670.]

The late bishop of Landaff, Richard Watson, in the anecdotes of his life, says, "that lord Shelburne, on the 17th of February, 1783, told him that he well knew above £60,000 had been expended in the house of commons to endorse the treaty."

Wilkes in his letter from Paris, 22nd of October, 1764, to the electors of

The war was closed. Henceforth Canada was to be a province of the British empire, to enjoy during the succeeding twelve years peace, prosperity, and a development of its material interests, which under French rule had not even been hoped for. It was not so with the adjoining southern provinces, her ancient enemies. The war had established their national pre-eminence: there was no longer fear that their peace would be disturbed by bands of Abenaki or Caughnawaga marauders.

Other troubles were to affect the continent and there was to be disquiet, dissatisfaction and discontent, arising from the desire to be freed from imperial control in trade, and in dealings with the Indians. The home government was to be convulsed by a series of feeble rulers, most of whom looking upon the royal favour as the only avenue to distinction, set at nought the policy which honest statesmanship and good judgment pointed out. For a few months only Bute remained the central figure, when, dizzy by the elevation he had reached, cowed by the opposition he had called forth, and lacking the courage and ability to steer through the intricate difficulties he had him himself placed in prominence, he withdrew from the responsibilities of a minister, to descend into the humbler but more mischievous position of the private counsellor of the monarch, to whom he gave the most pernicious advice.

I have thus brought this history to the period when Canada became a British province. If the settlement of Quebec by de Champlain be accepted as a starting point in its history, French Canada lasted for one hundred and sixty years. The

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Aylesbury, says, that the majority of the house of commons knew the exact truth of every assertion in the North Briton.

"One particular, however, came within their knowledge, the means by which it is hinted that the entire approbation of the parliament, even of the preliminary articles of the late inglorious peace was obtained; and the previous step to the obtaining that entire approbation, the large debt contracted on the civil list. They knew this assertion was extremely true, and I am as ready to own it was extremely scandalous." [Wraxall, IV., p. 673.]

attempt to trace back Canada to the days of Jacques Cartier is without warrant. He sailed up the river with many other navigators, and only that he left the record of his voyage, no trace of his presence would remain. As well speak of Vancouver as being founder of British Columbia, as he was the first to ascend and survey the several bays and inlets of the coast. It would be, indeed, a greater act of justice to identify the name of the traveller sir Alexander Mackenzie with the western province, than to confound Jacques Cartier with the history of Canada as a French province. Cartier can be assigned the rank of the first discoverer, who placed on record the geography of the Saint Lawrence. His last voyage was in 1541. No semblance of any settlement was made until 1603, when Champlain arrived with his few followers. During these sixty years, for two generations of men, all mention of Canada passed away. Whatever the merits of Jacques Cartier as a navigator, no place can be claimed for him in the continuous history of colonization and settlement of the shores of the Saint Lawrence.

I am, myself, inclined to date the commencement of French rule in Canada, in its broad sense, at the re-occupation of the country in 1632, after Kirke's conquest. If this view be conceded, it may be said that French rule existed for one hundred and twenty-eight years. At the time of the conquest, there were 60,000 souls ; there were about 15,000 males between sixteen and sixty years of age. It is from this limited number, the French Canadian population has increased to its present magnitude. The population of the province of Quebec by the census of 1881 is set forth at 1,359,027, of which, 1,073,820 are reported to be French Canadians, while 102,743, named as being resident in Ontario, are to be added to the total so classified.

It cannot be pretended that this number has sprung from the 15,000 males who became British subjects at the time of the conquest, and that the French Canadians can claim to be a race of pure blood from these forefathers. The contrary is the case. They have incorporated into their family every foreign element with which it has come in contact. It is only within the last few years that the Irish Roman Catholic population in the province of Quebec, which has much intermarried with the French Canadians, has asserted its nationality in the religious point of view. On the ground of convenience and expediency in the larger cities, they have acted upon the policy of constructing and maintaining their own churches, in which the sermon and other parts of the service are delivered in English only : thus establishing distinct congregations of English speaking Roman Catholics. The two great influences which have given strength to French Canadian sentiment are language and religion. Until the settlement of the eastern townships, which commenced at the close of the last century, no English was spoken out of the cities and in their immediate neighbourhood. The children of all those who passed to the country districts, whatsoever their place of birth, became French Canadians ; their names being gallicized. When mixed marriages took place the female children were brought up Catholics, and married into French Canadian families and were counted among them. There is scarcely an example in history of so powerful an absorbment, as that of the incorporation by the French Canadians of every foreign relationship. They have all the elements of a compound race; possessing characteristics totally different from French sentiment and feeling, they may claim this distinction in the sense, that they have grown to their present number, retaining many elements and peculiarities of their origin, but having engrafted upon them a tone of thought peculiar to themselves, widely diverging from the early prototype. It is plain that whatever be the ethnological character of the French Canadians, that it has been under the British government that they have attained to the force and power they possess, and have moulded themselves to the type they present. The political liberty they have enjoyed has enabled them thus to increase in numbers and prosperity. From 1632 to 1760, one hundred and twenty-eight years, the number of French Canadians reached 60,000. In the succeeding one hundred and twenty years they have increased to a million and a quarter. At the time of the conquest, in 1760, except a few families at the Cedars, Vaudreuil and Chateauguay, there was no settlement beyond Saint Genevieve, on the thinly peopled island of Montreal. The few hundred men, wandering beyond the western lakes, were pursuing their career as Indian traders, in many cases domiciled with the savages, and living as they lived. There were one thousand souls at Detroit, according to Rogers, at this time; many, doubtless, had been gathered there owing to the operations of Amherst. It is impossible not to contrast the benefits which Canada has enjoyed from the date of the conquest, with the hard, stern, depressing rule which weighed them down under the French government.

In relating these events, I have endeavoured, so far as I have been able, to adhere rigidly to what I have held to be the truth, and I have pointed out the sources whence, if errors exist, they may be rectified. There is a phantom constantly brought before the French Canadians, of their duty to adhere to their language, their institutions, and the laws of former times. It is only in accordance with the promptings of nature that a strong feeling of race should exist; it is a sentiment inseparable from our being, and it clings to the highest as to the lowest races. To this day, in the far west the Indian demands recognition of his old customs and traditions. From time to time a wave of this feeling passes across Europe, and this love of race is appealed to as the strongest of political arguments. The handful of men who surrendered at the conquest, was granted no special privileges. The one assurance given was liberty of religious worship. Although French law has remained as the procedure of the civil courts, and a conservative spirit has resisted all change in its form and system; and all amendment, more from political sentiment, than a wise consideration of that which is best and essential, has been resisted, the liberty of the subject is protected by English criminal law; and political freedom is assured by representative institutions transplanted from England, the "mother of parliaments"; which places the government of the country under the control of a parliamentary majority.

The French Canadian *habitant* is much more British than he himself knows, until circumstances make him aware of the political rights he enjoys, and the tone of thought which they have engendered.

It is on this feeling that the harmony of the future must rest; the use of language and the practice of a religion go far to create a sentiment of unity, strong and powerful when assailed by injustice and wrong. They are weapons for the arena where the contest is between foes, and the cause of quarrel is manifest and on the surface. They fail in their strength and might when appealed to by littleness, selfishness and fraud. Where there is liberty of thought, and the printing press is active, even those who are most careless regarding passing events must learn to discern the difference between an actual and imaginary wrong. The well-being of the dominion is in the hands of those patriotic men who have higher views than the notoriety of holding some prominent position for a few years, to pass away into forgetfulness when they fail in their duty to the state, or only to be mentioned with contempt. History ever avenges herself, and there is a certain nemesis for those who misuse their opportunity for good, however apparently for the time they may be successful.

While Canada relies on the sinew and industry of her sons to develop her material interests, it is to her true and patriotic children that she must look for the maintenance of those institutions, by which she can preserve her political freedom with the peace and prosperity which attend a government wisely and honestly administered.

END OF THE HISTORY OF FRENCH RULE.

THE TREATY OF PARIS.

The following are the articles from the definitive treaty of Paris, 10th of February, 1763, bearing upon the cession of Canada to the crown of Great Britain, and the rights granted to Newfoundland.

IV. His most Christian Majesty renounces all pretensions, which he has heretofore formed, or might form, to Nova Scotia, or Acadia, in all its parts, and guaranties the whole of it, and with all its dependencies, to the King of Great Britain :

Moreover, his most Christian Majesty cedes and guaranties to his said Britannic Majesty, in full right, Canada, with all its dependencies, as well as the Island of Cape Breton, and all the other islands and coasts in the gulf and river Saint Laurence, and in general, every thing that depends on the said countries, lands, islands, and coasts, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights, acquired by treaty or otherwise, which the most Christian King, and the crown of France, have had till now over the said countries, islands, lands, places, coasts, and their inhabitants, so that the most Christian King cedes and makes over the whole to the said King, and to the crown of Great Britain, and that in the most ample manner and form, without restriction, and without any liberty to depart from the said cession and guaranty, under any pretence, or to disturb Great Britain in the possessions above mentioned.

His Britannic Majesty, on his side, agrees to grant the liberty of the Catholic religion to the inhabitants of Canada : he will consequently give the most precise and most effectual orders, that his new Roman Catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the Romish church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit.

His Britannic Majesty further agrees, that the French inhabitants, or others, who had been the subjects of the most Christian King in Canada, may retire, with all safety and freedom, whenever they shall think proper, and may sell their estates, provided it be to subjects of his Britannic Majesty, and bring away their effects, as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, or of criminal prosecutions : the term limited for this emigration shall be fixed to the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty.

V. The subjects of France shall have the liberty of fishing and drying, on a part of the coasts of the Island of Newfoundland, such as it is specified in the XIIIth article of the treaty of Utrecht *; which article is renewed and confirmed

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* The following is the XIII. article of the treaty of Utrecht, to which allusion is made in the treaty of Paris :

"XIII. The island called Newfoundland, with the adjacent islands, shall from this time forward belong of right wholly to Britain ; and to that end the town and fortress of Placentia, and whatever other places in the said island are in the possession of the French, shall be yielded and given up, within seven months from the exchange of the ratification of this treaty, or sooner, if possible, by the present treaty (except what relates to the island of Cape Breton, as well as to the other islands and coasts in the mouth and in the gulph of St. Lawrence :) and his Britannic Majesty consents to leave to the subjects of the most Christian King the liberty of fishing in the gulph St. Laurence, on condition that the subjects of France do not exercise the said fishery, but at the distance of three leagues from all the coasts belonging to Great Britain, as well those of the continent, as those of the islands situated in the said gulph St. Laurence. And as to what relates to the fishery on the coasts of the island of Cape Breton out of the said gulph, the subjects of the most Christian King shall not be permitted to exercise the said fishery but at the distance of fifteen leagues from the coasts of the island of Cape Breton ; and the fishery on the coasts of Nova Scotia or Acadia, and every where else out of the said gulph, shall remain on the foot of former treaties.

VI. The King of Great Britain cedes the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, in full right, to his most Christian Majesty, to serve as a shelter to the French fishermen : and his said most Christian Majesty engages not to fortify the said islands ; to erect no buildings upon them, but merely for the convenience of the fishery ; and to keep upon them a guard of fifty men only for the police.

VII. In order to re-establish peace on solid and durable foundations, and to remove for ever all subject of dispute with regard to the limits of the British and French territories on the continent of America ; it is agreed, that, for the future, the confines between the dominions of his Britannic Majesty, and those of his most Christian Majesty, in that part of the world, shall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain to the sea ; and for this purpose, the most Christian King cedes in full right, and guaranties to his Britannic Majesty, the river and port of the Mobile, and everything which he possesses, or ought to possess, on the left side of the river Mississippi, except the town of New Orleans,

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by the most Christian King, to those who have a commission from the Queen of Great Britain for that purpose. Nor shall the most Christian King, his Heirs and Successors, or any of their subjects, at any time hereafter, lay claim to any right to the said island and islands, or to any part of it, or them. Moreover, it shall not be lawful for the subjects of France to fortify any place in the said island of Newfoundland, or to erect any buildings there, besides stages made of boards, and huts necessary and usual for drying of fish ; or to resort to the said island, beyond the time necessary for fishing, and drying of fish. But it shall be allowed to the subjects of France to catch fish, and to dry them on land, in that part only, and in no other besides that, of the said island of Newfoundland, which stretches from the place called Cape Bonavista to the northern point of the said island, and from thence running down by the western side, reaches as far as the place called Point Riche. But the island called Cape Breton, as also all others, both in the mouth of the river of St. Lawrence, and in the gulph of the same name, shall hereafter belong of right to the French, and the Most Christian King shall have all manner of liberty to fortify any place or places there. p. 381.

and the island in which it is situated, which shall remain to France; provided that the navigation of the river Mississippi shall be equally free, as well to the subjects of Great Britain as to those of France, in its whole breadth and length, from its source to the sea, and expressly that part which is between the said island of New Orleans and the right bank of that river, as well as the passage both in and out of its mouth.

[From "A Collection of Treaties between Great Britain and other powers," by George Chalmers, 1791, pp. 471-4.]

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